





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2016 with funding from  
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

# THE NEW PRINCETON REVIEW.

---

---

62d Year.

MAY, 1887.

No. 3.

---

---

## NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

### III.

ON taking a near view of the contemporaries of Dante and Michael Angelo, we find that they differ from us more in character than in intellect. With us, three hundred years of police and of courts of justice, of social discipline and peaceful habits, of hereditary civilization, have diminished the force and violence of the passions natural to man; in Italy, in the Renaissance epoch, they were still intact; human emotions at that time were keener and more profound than at the present day; the appetites were more ardent and more unbridled; man's will was more impetuous and more tenacious; whatever motive inspired him, whether pride, ambition, jealousy, hatred, love, envy, or sensuality, the inward spring strained with an energy and relaxed with a violence that has now disappeared. All these energies reappear in this great survivor of the fifteenth century; in him the play of the nervous machine is the same as with his Italian ancestors; never was there, even with the Malatestas and the Borgias, a more sensitive and more impulsive brain, one capable of such electric shocks and explosions, in which the roar and flashes of the tempest lasted longer and of which the effects were more irresistible. One day, at Paris, toward the epoch of the Concordat, he says to Senator Volney, "France wants a religion." Volney replies in a frank, sententious way, "France wants the Bourbons." Whereupon he gives Volney such a kick in the stomach that he falls unconscious; on being conveyed to a friend's house, he

remains there ill in bed for several days. No man is more irritable, none rears up so quickly; and all the more because he purposely gives way to his irritation; for, doing this just at the right moment, and especially before witnesses, it strikes terror; it enables him to extort concessions and maintain obedience. At St. Cloud, caught by Josephine in the act of dallying with another woman, he springs after the unlucky interrupter in such a way that she barely has time to escape from him; and again, that evening he keeps up his fury so as to put her down completely; "he treats her in the most outrageous manner, smashing every piece of furniture that comes in his way." Such is the first impulse, the instinctive action, to pounce on people and seize them by the throat; we divine under each sentence, and on every page he writes, outbursts and assaults of this description, the physiognomy and intonation of a man who rushes at people and knocks them down. Accordingly, when dictating in his cabinet, "he strides up and down the room," and, "if excited," which is often the case, "his language consists of violent imprecations, and even of oaths, which are suppressed in what is written." But these are not always suppressed, for those who have seen the original minutes of his correspondence on ecclesiastical affairs find in it dozens of them of the coarsest kind.

"My nerves are very sensitive," he said of himself, "and when in this state, were my pulse not always regular, I should risk going crazy." The tension of accumulated impressions is often too great, and it ends in a physical break-down. Strangely enough in so great a warrior and with such a statesman, "it is not infrequent, when excited, to see him shed tears." He who has looked upon thousands of dying men, and who has had thousands of men slaughtered, "sobs" after Wagram and after Bautzen, at the couch of a dying companion in arms. "I saw him," says his valet, "weep while eating his breakfast, after coming from Marshal Lannes's bedside; big tears rolled down his cheeks and fell on his plate." It is not alone the physical sensation, the sight of a bleeding, shattered body, which thus moves him acutely and deeply; for a word, a simple idea, stings and penetrates almost as far. Before the emotion of Dandolo, who pleads for Venice, his country, which is sold to Austria, he is agitated and his eyes moisten. Speaking of the capitulation of Baylen, at a full meeting of the Council of State, his voice trembles, and "he gives way to his grief, his eyes even filling with tears." In 1806, setting out for the army and on taking leave of Josephine, he has a nervous



attack which is so severe as to bring on vomiting. "We had to make him sit down," says an eye-witness, "and swallow some orange water; he shed tears, and this lasted a quarter of an hour." The same nervous and stomachic crisis came on in 1808, on deciding on the divorce; he tosses about a whole night, and laments like a woman; he melts, and embraces Josephine; he is weaker than she is: "My poor Josephine, I can never leave you!" Folding her in his arms, he declares that she shall not quit him; he abandons himself wholly to the sensation of the moment; she must undress at once, sleep alongside of him, and he weeps over her; "literally," she says, "he soaked the bed with his tears."

#### IV.

To regulate, direct, and control such energetic passions requires enormous force. This force in Napoleon consists of an extraordinarily profound and rigid instinct, which concentrates everything on itself; in other words, an egoism that is not passive, but active and encroaching, proportionate to the energy and compass of the faculties, developed by education and circumstances, exaggerated by success and omnipotence even to the erection in society of a monstrous colossal *I*, which unceasingly expands the circle of its tenacious and rapacious graspings, to which all resistance is offensive, which all independence annoys, and which, on the boundless domain which it assigns to itself, is intolerant of anybody that does not become either an appendix or an instrument. The germ of this absorbing personality appears already in the youth and even in the infant. "Character—dominating, imperious, and stubborn," says the record at Brienne; "extremely inclined to egoism," add the notes of the Military Academy; "possessing a good deal of self-love, ambitious, aspiring in all directions, fond of solitude," undoubtedly because he cannot be the master in a group of equals and is ill at ease when he cannot rule. "I lived apart from my comrades," he says at a late date. "I had selected a little corner in the playground where I used to go and sit down and indulge my fancies. When my comrades were disposed to drive me out of this corner I defended it with all my might. My instinct already told me that my will should prevail against other wills, and that I should obtain whatever I desired." Referring to his early years under the paternal roof at Corsica, he depicts himself as a little mischievous savage, rebelling against every sort of restraint, and without any conscience. "I respected nothing and

feared nobody ; I beat one and scratched another ; I made everybody afraid of me. I beat my brother Joseph ; I bit him and complained of him almost before he knew what he was about." A clever trick, and one which he was not slow to repeat. His talent for improvising useful lies is innate ; later on, at maturity, he is proud of this ; he makes it the index and measure of "political superiority," and delights in calling to mind one of his uncles who, in his infancy, prognosticated to him that he would govern the world because he was fond "of lying."

Remark this observation of the uncle's—it sums up the experiences of a man of his time and of his country ; it is what social life in Corsica then inculcated ; morals and manners there adapted themselves to each other through an un failing connection. The moral law, indeed, is such because those customs prevail in all countries and at all times when the police is powerless, when justice cannot be obtained, when public interests are in the hands of whoever can lay hold of them, where private warfare is pitiless and not repressed, where every man goes armed, where every sort of weapon is fair and tolerated, where dissimulation, fraud, and trickery, as well as gun or poniard, are allowed, which was the case in Corsica in the eighteenth century, as in Italy in the fifteenth century.

At table, the child has listened to the conversation of his elders, and, through a word uttered by his uncle, or a physiognomical expression, or a sign of approbation, or a shrug of the shoulders, he has divined that the ordinary march of society is not that of peace but of war ; he sees by what ruses one maintains one's self, through what acts of violence one makes one's way, by what sort of help one mounts upward. Left to himself the rest of the day, "to the nurse Ilaria, or to Saverna the housekeeper," or to the common people, amongst whom he strays at will, he listens to the conversation of sailors or to that of shepherds assembled on the public square, and their simple exclamations, their frank admiration of well-planned ambuscades and lucky surprises, impress more profoundly on him, often repeated with so much energy, the lessons which he has already learned at home. These are the *lessons taught by things*. At this tender age they sink deep, especially when the nature of the child is adapted to them, and in this case they are most welcome beforehand, because education finds its confederate in instinct. Accordingly, at the outbreak of the Revolution, on again finding himself in Corsica, he at once estimates life there for what it is, a combat

with every sort of weapon, and in these lists he acts unscrupulously, more openly than anybody else. If he respects justice and law, it is only in words, and even here ironically; in his eyes, law is a term of the code, justice a book term, while might makes right.

A second blow of the minting-machine stamps this impression yet more profoundly on this character already so decided; French anarchy forces maxims into the mind of the young man already traced in the child's mind by Corsican anarchy; the lessons of things provided by a society going to pieces are the same as those of a society which is not yet formed. His sharp eye, at a very early date, sees through the flourish of theory and the parade of phrases; it recognizes the real foundation of the Revolution, namely, the sovereignty of unbridled passions and the conquest of the majority by the minority; conquering or conquered, a choice must be made between these two extreme conditions; there is no middle course. After the 9th of Thermidor, the last veils are torn away, and the instincts of license and domination, the ambitions of individuals, fully display themselves; there is no concern for public interests or for the rights of the people; the rulers are evidently a band of robbers. France is their prey, and they intend to hold on to it for and against everybody, by every possible means, including bayonets. Under this civil régime, a clean sweep of the broom at the centre makes it necessary to be on the side of numbers. In the armies, especially in the army of Italy, republican faith and patriotic abnegation, since the territory became free, have opened the way for natural appetites and military passions. Barefooted, in rags, with four ounces of bread a day, paid in assignats which are not current in the markets, both officers and men desire above all things to be relieved of their misery; "the poor fellows, after three years of longing on the summits of the Alps, reach the promised land, and want to enjoy it." Another spur consists in the pride which is stimulated by the imagination and by success; add to this the necessity for self-expansion, the steam and high pressure of youth; nearly all are very young men, who regard life, in Gallic or French fashion, as a party of pleasure and a duel. But to feel one's self brave and to prove that one is so, to face bullets for amusement and defiantly, to abandon a successful adventure for a battle and a battle for a ball, to enjoy one's self and take risks to excess, without dissimulating, and with no other object than the sensation of the moment, to revel in excitement through emulation and danger, is

no longer self-devotion, but giving one's self up to one's fancies; and, for all who are not harebrained, to give one's self up to one's fancies means to make one's way, obtain promotion, pillage so as to become rich, like Massena, and conquer so as to become powerful, like Bonaparte. All this is understood between the general and his army from the very first, and, after one year's experience, the understanding is perfect. One moral is derived from their common acts, vague in the army, clear in the general; what the army only half sees he sees clearly; if he urges his comrades on, it is that they are following their own inclination, he simply has the start of them; and the conclusion he comes to is this, that the world is a grand banquet, free to the first-comer, but at which, to be well served, one must have long arms, be the first to get helped, and let the rest take what one does not want.

Become consul and afterward emperor, he applies the theory on a grand scale, and, in his hands, experience daily furnishes fresh verifications of the theory. At the first nod of his head the French prostrated themselves obediently, and there remained as in a natural position, the lower class, the peasants and the soldiers, with animal fidelity, and the upper class, the dignitaries and the functionaries, with Byzantine servility. The republicans, on their side, make no resistance; on the contrary, among these he has found his best governing instruments—senators, deputies, state-councillors, judges, and administrators of every grade. He has at once detected, under their preachings about liberty and equality, their despotic instincts, their craving for command, for leadership, even as subordinates; and, in addition to this, with most of them, the appetite for money or for sensual gratifications. The difference between the delegate of the Committee of Public Safety and the minister, prefect, or sub-prefect under the empire is small; it is the same individual in two costumes, at first in the *carmagnole* and next in the embroidered coat. If a rude, poor Puritan like Cambon or Baudot refuses to don the official uniform, if two or three Jacobin generals like Lecourbe and Delmas grumble at the coronation parade, Napoleon, who knows their mental grasp, regards them as ignoramuses, limited to and rigid in a fixed idea. As to the cultivated and intelligent liberals of 1789, he consigns them with a word to the place where they belong; they are "ideologists"; in other words, their pretended knowledge is mere drawing-room prejudice and the imagination of the closet. "Lafayette is a political ninny," the eternal "dupe of men and of



things." With Lafayette and some others one embarrassing detail remains; namely, proven disinterestedness, constant solicitude for the public good, respect for others, the authority of conscience, loyalty and good faith, in short, noble and pure motives. Napoleon does not accept the denial thus given to his theory; in addressing people personally, he tells them to their faces how morally noble they are. "General Dumas," said he, abruptly, to Mathieu Dumas, "you were one of the imbeciles who believed in liberty?" "Yes, sire, and I am still one of that class." "And you, like the rest, took part in the Revolution through ambition?" "No, sire, for I should have made a bad calculation, as I am now precisely where I stood in 1790." "You were not sufficiently well aware of the motives which prompted you; *you cannot be different from other people; it is all personal interest.* Now, take Massena. He has glory and honors enough; but he is not content. He wants to be a prince, like Murat and like Bernadotte. He would risk being shot to-morrow to be a prince. That is the incentive of Frenchmen." His system is based on this. The most competent witnesses, and those who were most familiar with him, aver to his fixed idea on this point. "His opinions on men," writes M. de Metternich, "centred on one idea, which, unfortunately for him, had acquired in his mind the force of an axiom; he was persuaded that no man who was called on to appear on the public stage, or who was merely engaged in the active pursuits of life, governed himself, or was governed, otherwise than by his interest." According to him, man is held through his egoistic passions, fear, cupidity, sensuality, self-esteem, and emulation; these are the mainsprings when he is not under excitement, when he reasons. Moreover, it is not difficult to turn the brain of man; for he is imaginative, credulous, and subject to being carried away; stimulate his pride or vanity, provide him with an extreme and false opinion of himself and of his fellow-men, and you can start him off head downward wherever you please. None of these motives is entitled to much respect, and beings thus fashioned from the natural material for an absolute government, the mass of clay awaiting the potter's hand to shape it. If parts of this mass are obdurate, the potter has only to crush them and pound and mix them thoroughly.

Such is the final conception on which Napoleon bases his faith, and which sinks deeper and deeper into his mind, no matter how directly and powerfully palpable facts may oppose it. Nothing will

dislodge it, neither the stubborn energy of the English, nor the inflexible gentleness of the Pope, nor the declared insurrection of the Spaniards, nor the mute insurrection of the Germans, nor the resistance of Catholic consciences, nor the gradual disaffection of the French ; the reason is, that his conception is imposed on him by his character ; he sees man as he needs to see him.

## V.

We at last confront his dominant passion, the inward abyss into which instinct, education, reflection, and theory have plunged him, and which is to engulf the proud edifice of his fortune—I mean, his ambition. It is the prime motor of his soul and the permanent substance of his will, so profound that he no longer distinguishes between it and himself, and of which he is sometimes unconscious. “I,” said he to Roederer, “I have no ambition,” and then, recollecting himself, he adds, with his ordinary lucidity, “or, if I have any, it is so natural to me, so innate, so intimately associated with my existence, that it is like the blood which flows in my veins and the atmosphere I breathe.” Still more profoundly, he likens it to that involuntary, savage, and irresistible sentiment which underlies all feeling, those tremors of the entire animal and moral nature, those keen and terrible transports which compose the passion of love. “I have but one passion, one mistress, and that is France. I sleep with her. She has never been false to me. She lavishes her blood and treasures on me ; if I need 500,000 men, she gives them to me.” Let no one come between him and her.

Hence, whoever approaches him must renounce his own will and become a governmental tool. “That terrible man,” often exclaimed Decrès, “has subjugated us completely ! Our imaginations are in his hands, now of steel and now of velvet, but which it is to be during the day nobody knows, and there is no escape from them ; whatever they seize on, they never relax their hold.” Independence of any kind, even eventual and merely possible, puts him out of humor ; intellectual or moral superiority is of this order, and he gradually gets rid of it ; toward the last he no longer tolerates alongside of him any but subject or captive spirits ; his principal servants are machines or fanatics, a servile worshipper, like Maret, a gendarme, like Savary, ready to do his bidding. From the outset, he has reduced his ministers to the condition of clerks ; for he is administrator as well as ruler, and, in each department, he watches details as closely as

the whole; he requires, accordingly, for head men simply active scribes, mute executors, docile and special hands, no honest and free counsellors. "I should not know what to do with them," he said, "if they were not to a certain extent mediocre in mind and character."

Thus, through the universal ascendancy which his power and genius conferred on him, he craves a personal, supplementary, and irresistible hold on everybody. Consequently, "he carefully cultivates all the bad passions; . . . he is glad to find the bad side in a man, so as to have him in his power"; the thirst for money in Savary, the Jacobin defects of Fouché, the vanity and sensuality of Cambacérès, the careless cynicism and "the easy immorality" of Talleyrand, the dry bluntness of Duroc, the courtier-like insipidity of Maret, the silliness of Berthier; he brings it out, diverts himself with it and profits by it. "Where he sees no vice, he encourages weaknesses, and, in default of anything better, he provokes fear, so that he may be ever and continually the strongest. . . . He dreads ties of affection, and strives to alienate people from each other. . . . He sells his favors only by arousing anxiety; he thinks that the best way to attach individuals to him is to compromise them, and often, even, to ruin them in public opinion." "If Caulaincourt is compromised," said he, after the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, "it is no great matter, he will serve me all the better."

If he exacts so much from the human creature, it is because, in playing the game he has to play, he must absorb everything; in the situation in which he has placed himself, caution is unnecessary. "Must a statesman," said he, "have feeling? Is he not wholly an eccentric personage, *always alone by himself, he on one side and the world on the other?*" In this duel without truce or mercy, people interest him only as they are useful to him; their value depends on what he can make out of them; his sole business is to squeeze them, to extract to the last drop whatever is available in them. "I find very little satisfaction in useless sentiments," said he again, "and Berthier is so mediocre that I do not know why I waste my time on him. And yet when I am not set against him, I am not sure that I do not like him." He goes no farther. According to him, this indifference is necessary in a statesman. The glass he looks through is that of his own policy; all he cares for is that it does not magnify or diminish objects. Therefore, outside of explosions of nervous sensibility, "he has no consideration for men other than that of a

foreman for his workmen," or, more precisely, for his tools; once the tool is worn out, little does he care whether it rusts away in a corner or is cast aside on a heap of scrap-iron. "Portalis, Minister of Justice, enters his room one day with a downcast look and his eyes filled with tears. 'What's the matter with you, Portalis?' inquired Napoleon, 'are you ill?' 'No, sire, but very wretched. The poor Archbishop of Tours, my old schoolmate . . .' 'Eh, well, what has happened to him?' 'Alas, sire, he has just died.' 'What do I care? he was no longer good for anything.'" Owing and making the most of men and of things, of bodies and of souls, using and abusing them at discretion, even to exhaustion, without being responsible to any one, he reaches that point after a few years when he can say as glibly and more despotically than Louis XIV. himself, "My armies, my fleets, my cardinals, my councils, my senate, my populations, my empire." Addressing an army corps about to rush into battle: "Soldiers, I need your lives, and you owe them to me." He says to General Dorsenne and to the grenadiers of the guard, "I hear that you complain, that you want to return to Paris, to your mistresses. Undeceive yourselves. I shall keep you under arms until you are eighty. You were born to the bivouac, and you shall die there." How he treats his brothers and relations who have become kings; how he reins them in; how he applies the spur and the whip and makes them trot and jump fences and ditches, may be found in his correspondence; every tendency to take the lead, even when justified by unforeseen urgency and the most evident good intention, is regarded as shying off, and is arrested with a brusque sharpness which staggers the loins and weakens the knees of the delinquent. How insupportable the constraint he exercises, with what crushing weight his absolutism bears down on the most tried devotion and on the most pliable characters, with what excess he tramples on and wounds all dispositions, up to what point he represses and stifles the respiration of the human being, he knows as well as anybody. He was heard to say: "The lucky man is he who hides away from me in the depths of some province." And, on another day, having asked M. de Ségur what people would say of him after his death, the latter enlarged on the regrets which people would universally express. "Not at all," replied the emperor; and then, drawing in his breath in a significant manner indicative of universal relief, he replied, "They'll say *Ouf!*"

There are very few monarchs, even absolute, who persistently and



from morning to night maintain a despotic attitude ; generally, and especially in France, the sovereign makes two divisions of his time, one for business and the other for social duties, and, in the latter case, while always head of the State, he is also head of his house ; for he welcomes visitors, entertains his guests, and, that his guests may not be automatons, he tries to put them at their ease. This is what Louis XIV. did ; polite to everybody, always affable with men, and sometimes gracious, always courteous with women, and sometimes gallant, carefully avoiding brusqueness, ostentation, and sarcasms, never permitting himself an offensive word, never making people feel their inferiority and dependence, encouraging them to express opinions, and even to converse, tolerating in conversation a semblance of equality, smiling at a repartee, playfully telling a story—such was his drawing-room constitution. The drawing-room as well as every human society needs one, and a liberal one ; otherwise life dies out. Accordingly, the observance of this constitution in by-gone society is known by the phrase *savoir-vivre*, and, more rigidly than anybody else, Louis XIV. submitted himself to this code of proprieties. Traditionally, and through education, he had consideration for others, at least, for the people around him, his courtiers becoming his guests without ceasing to be his subjects.

There is nothing of this sort with Napoleon. He preserves nothing of the etiquette he borrows from the old court but its rigid discipline and its pompous parade. “The ceremonial system,” says an eye-witness, “was carried out as if it had been regulated by the tap of a drum ; everything was done, in a certain sense, ‘double-quick.’ . . . This air of precipitation, this constant anxiety which it inspires,” puts an end to all comfort, ease, or convenience, all entertainment, all agreeable intercourse ; there is no common bond but that of command and obedience. “The few individuals he singles out, Savary, Duroc, Maret, keep silent and simply transmit orders. . . . We did not appear to them, in doing what we were ordered to do, and we did not appear to ourselves, other than veritable machines, all resembling, or nearly so, the elegant gilded arm-chairs with which the palaces of St. Cloud and the Tuileries had just been decorated.”

For a machine to work well it is important that the machinist should overhaul it frequently, which this one never fails to do, especially after a long absence. Whilst he is on his way from Tilsit, “everybody anxiously examines his conscience to ascertain what por-

tion of his conduct this rigid master will find fault with on his return. Whether spouse, family, or grand dignitary, each is more or less disturbed; while the empress, who knows him better than any one, naïvely says, 'The emperor is so glad, he will certainly do a good deal of scolding!'" In effect, he has scarcely arrived when he gives a rude and vigorous wrench of the bolt; and then, "satisfied at having excited terror all around, he appears to have forgotten what has passed, and resumes the usual tenor of his life." "Through calculation as well as from taste, he never relaxes in his royalty"; hence "a mute, frigid court . . . more dismal than dignified; every countenance wears an expression of uneasiness, . . . a silence both dull and constrained." At Fontainebleau, "amidst splendors and pleasures," there is no real enjoyment nor anything agreeable, not even for himself. "I pity you," said M. de Talleyrand to M. de Rémusat, "you have to amuse the unamusable." At the theatre he is abstracted or yawns. Applause is interdicted; the court, sitting out "the file of eternal tragedies, is mortally bored, . . . the young ladies fall asleep, people leave the theatre mournful and discontented." There is the same discomfort in the drawing-room. "He did not know how, and, I believe, he never wanted anybody to be at his ease, being afraid of the slightest approach to familiarity, and inspiring each with a fear of saying something offensive to his neighbor before witnesses. . . . During the quadrilles, he moves around amongst the rows of ladies, addressing to them some trifling or disagreeable remark," and never does he accost them otherwise than "awkwardly and ill at his ease." At bottom, he distrusts them and is ill-disposed toward them. It is because "the power they have acquired in society seems to him an insupportable usurpation." "Never did he utter to a woman a graceful or even a well-turned compliment, although the effort to find one was often apparent on his face and in the tone of his voice. . . . He talks to them only of their toilet, on which he insists that he is a severe and minute judge, and on which he indulges in not very delicate jests; or on the number of their children, demanding of them in rude language whether they nurse them themselves; or, again, lecturing them on their social relations." Hence, "there was not one of them who did not rejoice when he moved off." "I have the right to reply to all your objections with an eternal word *moi!*"

This term, indeed, is an answer to everything. "I stand apart from all men; I do not accept the conditions of any other person,"

nor any species of obligation, no code whatever, not even the common code of outward civility, which, diminishing or dissimulating primitive brutality, allows men to associate together without clashing with each other. He does not comprehend it, and he repudiates it. "I have no liking," he says, "for that vague, levelling word politeness (*convenances*), which you people fling at one every chance you get. It is an invention of fools, to enable them to associate with clever men; a kind of social bribe which annoys the strong and is useful only to the mediocre. . . . Ah, good taste! Another classic expression which I do not accept." "It is your personal enemy," says Talleyrand to him one day; "if you could have shot it away with bullets, it would have disappeared long ago!" It is owing to good taste being the highest attainment of civilization, the vestment which best clothes human nudity, which fits the closest, the last garment retained after the others have been cast off, and which delicate tissue continues to hamper Napoleon; he puts it aside instinctively, because it interferes with his natural gesticulation, with the uncurbed, dominating, savage behavior of the vanquisher, who knocks down his adversary and then treats him as he pleases.

## VI.

To subjugate the Continent in order to form a coalition against England, such, henceforward, are his means, which are as violent as the end in view, while the means, like the end, are prescribed to him by his character. Too imperious and too impatient to wait or to profit by others, he is incapable of yielding to the will of others except through constraint, and his co-workers are never aught else to him than subjects, under the name of allies. Later, at St. Helena, with his indestructible imaginative energy and power of illusion, he strives to excite the public with his humanitarian reveries; but, as he himself avows, the accomplishment of his retrospective dream required beforehand the submission of all Europe; a liberal sovereign and pacificator, "a crowned Washington; yes," he used to say, "but I could not reasonably attain this point, except through a universal dictatorship, which I aimed at." In vain does common sense demonstrate to him that such an enterprise inevitably rallies the Continent to the side of England, and that his means divert him from the end. In vain it is repeatedly represented to him that he needs one sure great ally on the Continent; that to obtain this he must conciliate Austria; that he must not drive her to despair, but rather win her

over and compensate her on the side of the Orient; place her in permanent conflict with Russia, and attach her to the new French Empire by a community of vital interests. In vain does he, after Tilsit, make a bargain of this kind with Russia. This bargain cannot hold, because in this arrangement Napoleon, as usual with him, always encroaching, threatening, and attacking, wants to reduce Alexander to the rôle of a subordinate and a dupe. No clear-sighted witness can doubt this. In 1809, a diplomat writes: "The French system, which is now triumphant, is directed against the whole body of States," not alone against England, Prussia, and Austria, but against Russia, against every power capable of maintaining its independence; for, if she remains independent, she may become hostile, and, as a precautionary step, Napoleon crushes in her a possible enemy.

Unquestionably, with such a character nobody can live; his genius is too vast, too baneful, and all the more because it is so vast. War will last as long as he reigns; it is in vain to reduce him, to confine him at home, to drive him back within the ancient frontiers of France; no barrier will restrain him, no treaty will bind him; peace with him will never be other than a truce; he will use it simply to recover himself, and, as soon as he has done this, he will begin again; he is in his very essence *anti-sociable*. The mind of Europe in this respect is made up definitively and unshakably. One petty detail alone shows how unanimous and profound this conviction was. On the 7th of March the news reached Vienna that he had escaped from the island of Elba, without its being yet known where he would land. M. de Metternich brings the news to the Emperor of Austria before eight o'clock in the morning, who says to him, "Lose no time in finding the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, and tell them that I am ready to order my army to march at once for France." At a quarter past eight M. de Metternich is with the czar, and at half-past eight, with the King of Prussia; both of them reply instantly in the same manner. "At nine o'clock," says M. de Metternich, "I was back. At ten o'clock aids flew in every direction countermanding army orders. . . . Thus was war declared in less than an hour."

## VII.

Other heads of the State have thus passed their lives in doing violence to mankind; but it was for something that was likely to



last, and for a national interest. What they called the public good was not a phantom of the brain, a chimerical poem, due to a caprice of the imagination, to personal passions, to their own peculiar ambition and pride. Outside of themselves and the coinage of their brain there was a real and substantial object of prime importance, namely, the State, the great body of society, the vast organism which lasts indefinitely through the long series of interlinked and responsible generations. If they drew blood from the passing generation it was for the benefit of coming generations, to preserve them from civil war or from foreign domination. They acted generally like able surgeons, if not through virtue, at least through dynastic sentiment and family traditions; having practised from father to son, they had acquired the professional conscience; their first and only aim was the safety and health of their patient. It is for this reason that they did not recklessly undertake extravagant, bloody, and over-risky operations; rarely did they give way to temptation through a desire to display their skill, through the need of dazzling and astonishing the public, through the novelty, keenness, and success of their saws and scalpels. They felt that a longer and superior existence to their own was imposed upon them; they looked beyond themselves as far as their sight would reach, and so took measures that the State after them might do without them, live on intact, remain independent, vigorous, and respected athwart the vicissitudes of European conflict and the uncertain problems of coming history. Such, under the ancient régime, was what were called *reasons of state*; these had prevailed in the councils of princes for eight hundred years; along with unavoidable failures and after temporary deviations, these had become for that time, and then remained, the preponderating motive. Undoubtedly they excused or authorized many breaches of faith, many outrages, and, to come to the word, many crimes; but, in the political order of things, especially in the management of external affairs, they furnished a governing and a salutary principle. Under its constant influence thirty monarchs had labored, and it is thus that, province after province, they had solidly and enduringly built up France, by ways and means beyond the reach of individuals but available to the heads of States.

Now, this principle, with their improvised successor, was utterly lacking. On the throne as in the camp, whether general, consul, or emperor, he remains the military adventurer, and cares only for his own advancement. Owing to the great defect in the education of

both conscience and sentiments, instead of subordinating himself to the State, he makes the State subordinate to him; he does not see beyond his own brief physical existence to this nation which is to survive him; consequently, he sacrifices the future to the present, and his work is not to last. After him the deluge!

At the end of 1812 the grand army is freezing in the snow; the feet of Napoleon's horse have let him down. Fortunately, the animal is only foundered; "his Majesty's health was never better"; nothing has happened to the rider; he raises him on his legs, and what concerns him at this moment is not the sufferings of his broken-down steed, but his own mishap; his reputation as a horseman is compromised; the effect on the public, the hootings of the audience, is what troubles him; the comedy of a perilous leap, announced with such a flourish of trumpets, and ending in such a disgraceful fall. On reaching Warsaw he says to himself, ten times over: "Only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous." The following year, at Dresden, he shows still more shamefully, openly, and nakedly his master passion, the motives which determine him, the immensity and ferocity of his pitiless self-love. "What do they want of me?" said he to M. de Metternich. "Do they want me to dishonor myself? Never! I can die, but never will I yield an inch of territory! Your sovereigns, born on the throne, may get beaten twenty times over and return to their capitals: I cannot do this, because I am a *parvenu* soldier. My domination will not survive the day when I cease to be strong, and, consequently, feared." In effect, his despotism in France is founded on his European omnipotence; if he does not remain master of the Continent, "he must settle with the *corps législatif*." Rather than descend to an inferior position, rather than be a constitutional monarch, controlled by parliamentary chambers, he plays double or quits, and will risk losing everything. "I have seen your soldiers," says Metternich to him, "they are children. When this army of boys is gone, what will you do then?" At these words, which touch his heart, he grows pale, his features contract, and his rage overcomes him; like a wounded man who has made a false step and exposes himself, he says violently to Metternich: "You are not a soldier! You do not know the impulses of a soldier's breast! I have grown up on the battle-field, and a man like me does not care a — for the lives of a million of men!" His imperial chimera has devoured many more than that number. Between 1804 and 1815 he has had slaughtered more than 1,700,000 Frenchmen born within

the boundaries of ancient France, to which must be added, probably, 2,000,000 of men born out of these limits, and all for him, under the title of allies, or slain on his account, under the title of enemies. All that the poor, enthusiastic, and credulous Gauls have gained by confiding their public welfare to him is two invasions; all that he bequeaths to them as a reward for their devotion, after this prodigious waste of their blood and the blood of others, is a France shorn of fifteen departments acquired by the republic, deprived of Savoy, the left bank of the Rhine and of Belgium, despoiled of the northeast angle by which it completed its boundaries, fortified its most vulnerable point, and, using the words of Vauban, "made the field square," losing 4,000,000 of new Frenchmen which it had assimilated after twenty years of life in common, and, worse still, thrown back within the frontiers of 1789, alone diminished in the midst of its aggrandized neighbors, suspected by all Europe, and lastingly surrounded by a threatening circle of distrust and rancor.

Such is the political work of Napoleon, the work of egoism served by genius. In his European structure as in his French structure this sovereign egoism introduced a vice of construction. This fundamental vice is manifest at the outset in the European edifice, and at the expiration of fifteen years it brings about a sudden downfall: in the French edifice it is equally serious but not so apparent; only at the end of half a century, or even a whole century, is it to be made clearly visible; but its gradual and slow effects are to be equally pernicious and they are no less sure.

## PHYSIOLOGICAL ETHICS.\*

MR. LESLIE STEPHEN is one of the most attractive and readable of living English writers, especially in the domain of the history and criticism of opinions. His style is popular and lively. He is acute and ready in discerning distinctions, and felicitous in stating the points which he makes. He is uniformly bright and lively in his allusions and illustrations, and finds a peculiar delight in uttering seeming paradoxes or flying in the face of traditional opinions. Not infrequently he seems to take a mischievous pleasure in startling the devotees of philosophical or theological conservatism. As might be expected, this tendency occasionally degenerates into a vicious smartness of speech or an unmannerly fling at orthodox opinions in general, which suggests to some of his readers a sincere regret that his early religious education—which must have been of the stricter sort, or the reaction from it would not have been so violent—had not included, at least, one such practical administration as Coleridge records with so much gratitude. It is a matter of feeling, we know, but the ostentatious intrusion of Mr. Stephen's contempt for every form of religious faith, from theism upward, seems to us to be in very questionable taste. It certainly does not strengthen his logic.

Mr. Stephen is an evolutionist in his philosophical creed, and he attempts in this volume to develop an ethical system from the theory of evolution. He is, however, a metaphysical rather than a scientific evolutionist, having grown or been evolved into his creed along the lines of general philosophy rather than in the schools of physiology proper, or of any other special science. He is a metaphysician rather than a scientist, although not professedly or apparently a proficient in his mastery of the scientific method. His present ethical position has, by his own concession, been reached by two or more removes, and gives manifest indications of the several positions which he has occupied or by which he has been influenced. He was at first, as he informs us, a utilitarian publicist of the school of Bentham and the two Mills—the father and the son. Under the impulse of the

---

\* *The Science of Ethics.* By Leslie Stephen. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27 and 29 West Twenty-third Street.



teachings of Mr. Charles Darwin, he became an evolutionist in the department of natural history. By a natural development he emerged into a metaphysical evolutionist under the bewildering logic of Mr. Herbert Spencer. He has held himself to a satisfactory familiarity with the distinctions and polemics of the ethics of the schools and the market-place, by the influence of Prof. Henry Sidgwick's suggestive *Methods of Ethics*. The volume before us is an attempt to construct a system of ethics which should recognize the old questions and familiar distinctions as restated and reconstructed on the scientific basis of the evolutionistic metaphysics. While Mr. Stephen is at one with Mr. Spencer in his fundamental philosophy, he differs from him in the matter of method, in that Mr. Spencer imagines that his ethics is the necessary outgrowth of his theory of evolution, while Mr. Stephen describes his book as "an attempt to lay down an ethical doctrine in harmony with the doctrine of evolution so widely accepted by modern men of science." Mr. Spencer begins with his metaphysics as a fountain or source of ethical doctrine, while Mr. Stephen accepts, or professes to accept, the generally received ethical principles and rules as true, and inquires how far they can be explained by the true scientific method, *i. e.*, the method justified and enforced by the principles of evolution. Mr. Spencer assumes the rôle of a reformer and innovator, and proposes to modify, to some extent, the practical aims and rules of life, so far as he is compelled to do so by the philosophy of evolution. Mr. Stephen accepts the ethical aims and rules which are ordinarily received, and seeks to explain and enforce them all by what he calls the scientific method, it being assumed that this is justified by the metaphysics of evolution.

It is the function of the critic of Mr. Stephen to inquire how far he has succeeded in each of these efforts; how far he does justice to ethical truth as it is generally received and acted on; and how far he has been successful in explaining and enforcing it by what he calls the scientific method.

The first thing which Mr. Stephen attempts to do is to explain his aims by expounding his starting-point. He calls attention to the unquestioned fact that men are pretty generally agreed in their practical judgments, *i. e.*, that certain actions are right and wrong; and yet, when they attempt to define their conceptions of right and wrong, they differ very widely. These agreements and disagreements can be accounted for by observing that certain elements or relations of right and wrong action are obvious to every mind, while others are

so intricate or so difficult of apprehension as to fail to be mastered except by a few, and perhaps are fully mastered by none. The definitions and demonstrations of geometry command ready and unanimous assent, while the definitions and reasonings which relate to the nature of space are acknowledged to be obscure and open to controversy. We may distinguish the latter as metaphysical and the former as scientific. If, now, we are content to discard or leave unnoticed the metaphysical relations of ethics, and limit ourselves to those which are properly scientific, we shall set off from the right starting-point and keep ourselves within and along the lines which will conduct us through what would otherwise be an entangling maze.

The example selected to illustrate this distinction is the proposition that *mothers love their children*, which the author strangely enough assumes will be universally recognized as a well-nigh self-evident ethical truth. Treated metaphysically, he urges that this proposition involves recondite and uncertain inquiries in respect to the nature of personality; but treated scientifically, it commands ready intelligence and consent. We see at once that it is capable of clear statement, and that its truthfulness is independent of any metaphysical substratum which we may leave untouched. It is true we cannot define the proposition in terms of mathematical precision, but we can attain to a practical exactness in understanding its meaning.

But at this point it occurs to the author, that to the scientific treatment of moral questions a fatal objection may be urged from the supposed freedom of the will, which threatens to take every concept and proposition out of the scientific domain. Into any discussion of this topic the author somewhat haughtily declines to enter, as "already threshed to the last fragments of chaff." And yet he proceeds to give a few strokes with logical flail, as follows: if the doctrine of free will interferes with "the uniformity of nature or the principle of the sufficient reason or the universality of causation," it is inconsistent with scientific reasoning. We cannot even think it. From the application of these tests, the author "can see no ground whatever for excluding the case of human conduct." He moreover indulges the somewhat sweeping remark that the so-called sciences of sociology and psychology, as he finds them, "consist of nothing more than a collection of unverified guesses and vague generalizations disguised under a more or less pretentious apparatus of quasi-scientific terminology." He insists, almost in the words and the often-repeated sentiment of John Stuart Mill, that "the accepted

test of true scientific knowledge is the power of prediction." He passionately inquires, as in half reply to the strongly put suggestion of Du Bois Reymond, "Is it not, then, a mockery to join in one phrase such words as science and human nature? Will Cæsar cross the Rubicon?" The problem is as determinate as the problem, "Will a projectile fall on the hither or the further bank?" And yet in almost the same breath in which he makes this positive assertion he proceeds to find and state the reasons why these determinate problems can never, in fact, be solved. First, we cannot accurately measure nor estimate the several forces—psychical, pathological, and psycho-pathological—which constitute or characterize a single individual. It is nearly or quite as difficult to calculate the force of the agencies that constitute his environment, either their positive force as acting alone or as combined with or resisted by the agency of the individual. Upon all these points the author dwells in order to set aside the conclusion that in proposing his ideal of a science of human nature he holds that it "could either now or at any future time make any approach to the accuracy or the certainty of the physical sciences." And yet he insists we do attain to a high degree of certainty in respect to many ethical conclusions, such, for example, "as is represented by the assertion that *most* mothers and not that *all* mothers love their children." He observes in passing that not a few reasoners have placed great stress upon ethical statistics like those of Quetelet, in respect to the average number of deaths by suicide, homicide, drowning, etc., but in his opinion these observations fail altogether in that exactness which science requires. For this reason, if for no other, they are of little or no scientific value.

It would seem from these considerations that the accuracy and the power of explanation and prediction which are the ideals of exact—that is, of true—science are impossible in that science of man which Mr. Stephen calls the science of ethics. Though exactness and the capacity for prediction may be required as ideals, they can never be realized in fact. And yet our author would contend that these ideals should never be abandoned, but must pertinaciously be sought after by every scientific inquirer, without regard to any question or fact of success. From the perplexity in which he finds himself, he is in a measure released by the suggestion that the doctrine of evolution, as applied to social changes, is so far established in its general principles and universal application as to give exactness and breadth to the generalizations required by science. In obedi-

ence to this suggestion he devotes himself to a preliminary discussion of this general subject. First, he emphasizes the fact that "a perception that society is not a mere aggregate, but an organic growth; that it forms a whole the laws of whose growth can be studied apart from those of the individual atom, supplies the most characteristic postulate of modern speculation." From this statement we infer that he holds that while we cannot trace the actions and reactions of the elements that make up the individual and social man, be these elements physical molecules or psychical monads, we can satisfactorily discern the functions and laws of both when massed into organs, furnishing, as these do, a broad mark for our inspection, and attracting our attention by their ever-recurring presence. In other words, it does not follow because we cannot discriminate and discern the individual trees that we cannot discern and judge of them when massed into a wood.

The only question which we need to settle in respect to the matter is a question of fact whether these two classes of relations can be so sharply distinguished as to justify the discrimination of the metaphysical and scientific methods. Mr. Stephen obviously thinks they can be. He still further defines the scientific method as that which assumes the law of evolution or organic growth to have become universally accepted, and to be preëminently applicable to social phenomena. We need not inform our readers that the law is held to imply a tendency to variation and change in the formation and development of organic life, and that under the law of the survival of the fittest it secures social and ethical development. We wonder that the truth has never dawned more distinctly upon the minds of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Spencer that the very terminology of their theory, and especially the current use of such phrases as "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest," suggests, if it does not require, the assumption of purpose in nature, including man. No other idea than purpose so imperatively requires and so fully explains that fitness for individual and social growth of which Mr. Stephen makes so much in his distinction between what he calls the metaphysical and the scientific method.

But, leaving this preliminary topic, we do not need to follow Mr. Stephen very far in his discussion to discover that the moral organism which he recognizes is *social in its origin* and its functions; that its constituent organs consist of human beings, either single or massed, and acting as one; and that to each of these organs are as-



signed separate functions, which differ in their simplicity or complexity, as also in their greater or less significance. Mr. Stephen takes things as he finds them, accepting evolution as a fact—a luminous and self-justified scientific fact—which he finds reflected against the dark background of metaphysical inexplicability. He does not go back to the fact of personal or social existence in men. He leaves undiscussed and unsolved all questions of the original star-dust and the evolution of the organic from the inorganic. He does not inquire how the original particles in individual men, at first self-centred, put on social and altruistic motions. He does not attempt to explain by what process or under what impulse, amid the bewildering and conflicting activities of their mutual antagonisms, these particles settled into the harmonized and comprehensible adjustments of organic functions, with those upward tendencies which finally lifted them into spiritual and personal being. All these speculations Mr. Stephen leaves to Mr. Spencer to settle, with whatever metaphysical hazards they involve, limiting his inquiries to the organic, and chiefly to the socially organized, man, and accepting as axiomatic the proposition that society not only acts through organs, but forms and perfects to itself organs through which it lives its ethical life. To analyze the springs and explain the phenomena of human conduct and character on this theory is Mr. Stephen's ideal. The questions which this ideal suggests are the questions which he proposes to ask and to answer. The answers, he repeats, cannot be scientific in the sense of giving us quantitative and precise formula, but they may be so far scientific as to be certain and verifiable.

The first problem which he proposes concerns what he calls the theory of motives. He asks, in effect, what moves man to action? To this question he answers: the feelings, and the feelings only. Ruling out all questions and suggestions respecting the substance of the soul and the nature of its constituent particles as material or psychical, he begins with psychical experiences alone. By motives he intends simply psychical forces, and of those he gives his chief attention to the feelings and the reason, scarcely deigning to notice the will with a moment's attention. In effect, he adopts the well-known classification of the psychical powers as understanding and will, the latter being considered as the subject or agent of emotion only, and the impeller to action. As the agent of choice, Mr. Stephen has no place for the will, for he recognizes no such activity as choosing or willing, and very properly drops it from his classification, confining

himself to the reason and the feelings, as explaining action and character.

In treating of the emotions as determining character and impelling to conduct, he devotes several pages to the elucidation and defence of the position that the feelings, as such, do not so much impel to action of any kind as *to their own continuance*. Whatever this may mean, the feelings themselves are the sole actors in the human organism, or, in Mr. Stephen's own language, it is more exact to say that "my conduct is determined by the pleasantest judgment than to say that it is determined by my judgment of what is pleasantest." To this theory he conforms the function of the reason when it decides between two phenomena in prospect, by setting it to determine between the merits of the two or more secondary emotions which the prospect awakens. The question is important, in the view of the author, in his effort to explain the springs of action without the agency of the will. But even from this standpoint it were far more satisfactory to recognize *desire* as the obverse or invariable attendant of feeling of every kind, and impelling as an active force to or from every emotion, whether experienced or thought of. But this would force him to bring into the field the individual and personal ego, which Mr. Stephen does not care to recognize. It is not easy to see how the pleasantest judgment or the pleasantest feeling, however awakened, should impel to any action simply by the delight which tends to its own perpetuation. The secret of Mr. Stephen's theory is out when he tells us that "in all cases pain, as pain, represents tension, that is, a state of feeling from which there is a tendency to change," while "pleasure represents equilibrium, or a state in which there is a tendency to persist"; which is about as luminous as to say, "Who drives fat oxen must himself be fat." The readers of Mr. Herbert Spencer are not unacquainted with similar suggestions.

Mr. Stephen next treats of the reason as determining conduct. He observes that, "No theory can be tenable which virtually asserts reason and feeling to be two separate and independent faculties, one of which can be properly said to govern the other. The reason is not something superinduced upon the emotions as something entirely new. There is no absolute gap between the higher and lower organisms. The animal instinct may be regarded as implicit reason, or the reason as highly developed instinct. Instinct is reason limited to the immediate, and incapable of reflecting upon its own operations and reason an extended instinct, apprehending the distant

and becoming conscious of its own modes of action." Instinctive action is as truly rational action as any other, inasmuch as it is always produced by a cause and under a law. Instinctive action becomes rational in the eminent sense of the word when the being who performs it understands the reasons or aims by or for which he acts; in other words, when he is aware of the motives which impel or control him. Every controlling motive tends to harmony and unity of purpose and action and character. This unity follows from the interaction of the several emotions, according to the relative energy of each. One passion is friendly to or incompatible with every other when acting with a certain measure of energy. Moreover, reason "enables us after a time to judge of our own character as a whole, to rehearse not only particular acts, but moods, and so become spectators of ourselves and *regard our own feelings with disgust and complacency*. Every such reflection tends to modify future action by revealing to us more distinctly its social consequences, and by reinvesting it with certain associations of approval." These representations would seem almost to exalt reason into conscience and to follow its judgments with self-approbation or the contrary, and to suppose the responsibility and freedom of the will. But against all these premature and hasty inferences, or any tendency or impulse in these directions, the author guards us by interposing the remark: "But, after all, we start with a certain balance of feeling, with certain fixed relations between our various instincts, and however they may change afterward, our character is so far determined from the start." It follows that every man begins with tendencies and conformations toward a fixed type of character and conduct. Is one end properly more reasonable than another? Whatever we may have thought of the possible significance or application of the author's words, he assures us, "But nothing hitherto stated will enable us to define the end which is itself most reasonable, or to give any meaning to the phrase." He almost shocks us by saying, "We have so far no means of saying why reason should determine any particular relation between the instincts, or why any one character should not be just as reasonable as any other." "What is that criterion, if there be any, by which we can judge of the feelings? They exist, and so far cannot be called true or false. They are actual or they are nothing. If actual, in what sense is one feeling or set of feelings or one type of character better than another?"

The philosophy which Mr. Stephen rejects because it is meta-

physical would have taught him that the difference between men is not simply in feelings, as emotions impelling to action, but in the emotions as animated and controlled by the will. It would have added, that the reason is competent to judge not only of the feelings as impulses to action, but of the motives which excite them as ends of action. Mr. Stephen rejects both these elements of human experience, and logically concludes that without them reason is incompetent to discover or judge of the ends of human activity, or to find that any end or aim of human action approves itself to the reason as such. Every such assumption he dismisses as metaphysical, and adopts in its place what he calls the scientific method of evolution. Instead of an *end*, consciously conceived and intelligently proposed, this method furnishes him with the physiological conception of a *type*, by which, he informs us, the activities of the social human being are necessarily controlled, and yet by conformity to which they are judged as reasonable or otherwise. We say the social human being, for it is only in society that man becomes moral, or can find a type to which he may aspire or by which he can be judged. Any other view of man as moral or responsible is metaphysical, however true to human experience or justified by conscience and common sense. This only is scientific, however remote and shadowy it may be.

The conception of a type being so important, Mr. Stephen undertakes to define it, selecting for his example the *ideal bow* in the hands of the primeval man, or, rather, in a society of primitive men, as somehow evolving itself into being, controlling, impelling, and modifying invention and action until it has become an actual or realized fact. What the ideal bow is to the forces that produce it, is the ideal of character or conduct, or, more exactly, the ideal man, to social forces in their joint action. Somehow or other we are assured, *i. e.*, Mr. Spencer assures us, of the fact, that the strongest and the happiest society is that in which benevolent feeling prevails; as also that the social man must stimulate the benevolent affections with the sunshine of his favor. Moreover, the benevolent feelings themselves have been shown to be tenacious of their hold by the delight which they have in their own sweetness, and for this additional reason must tend to prevail. In progress of time, definite or customary actions are selected as objects of social aspiration, and influence legislation. In this way, as society becomes indued with more efficient organic life, it enforces all the ideas and emotions that have any legitimate claim to be recognized as fit to control. These give us scientific as



contrasted with metaphysical ethics, because, as Mr. Stephen contends, it falls in with the scientific movement, which is controlled by the law of evolution, and recognizes distinctly the organic connection which everywhere prevails between the phenomena of matter and spirit, if, indeed, matter and spirit are not one. It follows that the key-note of this volume is the organic relations between man and society. The discussion of this topic gives it its chief interest and value. For the many truths which the brilliant author illustrates with so much spirit we owe him many thanks. For the omissions which he has made of the most important truths, and the attitude which he takes toward the most venerated principles, we can only express our surprise and regret—surprise that a writer so acute should not have noticed his own logical oversights, and regret that a philosopher so generous and thoughtful should not have been repelled by conclusions so hopeless and depressing.

The assumption of types and typical relations as the key to his theory had, very naturally, brought the writer over the threshold of his discussion into the relations of the individual man to organized humanity, and to their mutual actions and reactions as affecting ethical philosophy and ethical progress. Assuming as his scientific starting-point that man, as we find him, has been evolved from a something neither living nor organized, neither intelligent nor ethical, he observes that society is not a sum of units, but an organism of mutually dependent and coacting agents. First of all, each man is dependent on his race "as an apple is dependent on a tree." His dependence, however, especially in its higher forms, is by no means concurrent with or caused by any change in his physical organization. Physically and psychologically the ancient was equal if not superior to the modern man. The superiority of the modern to the ancient, under the highest civilization of each, "depends on the ancient and familiar truth, that man can accumulate mental and material wealth, that he can learn by experience and hand over his experience to others." Mr. Stephen eloquently says: "We inherit not merely the tangible products of labor but the methods of labor. Our ancestors transmit to us both results and the means of obtaining fresh results; they transmit their mechanical skill and their logic, although they do not transmit any modification of structure." "The most striking illustration of this process is to be found in language." "To learn to speak is to learn a number of signs with which to fix in the memory a number of things or aspects of things which would else be forgotten,

and to enable ourselves to recall them easily to the memory of others and to have them easily recalled by others." "The child, then, starts with an organization for thinking and speaking, as the bird leaves the egg with the organs of flying or swimming." "If Homer or Plato had been born among the Hottentots, they could have no more composed the *Iliad* or the *Dialogues* than Beethoven could have composed his music, however fine his ear or delicate his organization, in the days when the only musical instrument was the tom-tom."

"Hence the activity of the individual is essentially conditioned not merely by his individual organization, but by the *social medium*." "Human conduct then depends essentially on the *social factor*." "The various properties characteristic of a given social state may be regarded as corresponding to three degrees of generality." "First, we have those properties which belong to a society so far as it consists of men. Second, these primary instincts are modified and converted into virtually a new set of instincts by social development and inheritance. Third, those same two classes, as modified, which correspond to the particular organs into which the society is distributed."

In order to express in a word the distinctions peculiar to each society, the author uses and makes much of the phrase "*social tissue*." He tells us that "the tissue is built up of men, as the tissue of physiology is said to be built up of cells. Every society is composed of such tissue; and the social tissue can no more exist apart from such associations than the physiological tissue can exist apart from the organs of living animals."

The process by which this tissue is formed is social evolution. "The typical organism is beyond assumption that organism which is best fitted for all the conditions of life, or, in other words, which has the strongest vitality. Now, the difficulty which meets us in attempting to extend to human society the principle which may be accepted as regulating the evolution of infra-human species is *the difficulty of determining the units*."

Precisely so; for in all low organisms, as in unorganized material substances, the units of action or centres of force can be readily distinguished, and their functions easily defined. Each portion of tissue which performs a special function can be discerned apart, and sometimes sundered from the organic whole without seriously interfering with its life or functions. In high organisms the special functions of many of the so-called units can often be determined, while the particular mysterious tie of action or reaction which connects them indissolu-

bly with their fellows cannot be discerned. One or more is discerned to be a unit in some relations, but not in all. As to man, whether he is regarded as only highly organized and wondrously evolved matter, or whether he is regarded as more emphatically a unit, because he is a person, and can distinguish himself from and act against the tissue with which he is connected, it is very evident that there is a somewhat that is connected with this social tissue which does not answer to the formula of evolution so completely as Mr. Stephen expected it would. Mr. Stephen is no bigoted materialist; he means to be a reasonable evolutionist. He does not care a fig about the substance or the organic substratum of the functions, whether it is matter or spirit, but he has begged the question in discussion when he has assumed that no personal unit is connected with the material organism which he is not scientifically sure has gone through innumerable stages of evolution, or when he makes mere emotion to perform the function of an independent agent, by the pleasure which insists on its own continuance, and in this way hypostasizes feeling as the centre of personal activity. The difficulty that is perpetually turning up in Mr. Stephen's ingenious theory is that he has gone beyond both fact and analogy in assuming that the analogies of evolution and organic function will apply to a conscious person; which is so far from proved as yet to be a function of evolved matter that it constantly asserts itself to be the one factor which is alone competent to exalt matter, as brain, to the capacity of exercising certain joint functions with itself.

While, then, we accept without question the mystery of organic existence and all the wonders of the interdependence of function on organ and of organ upon function, which science can justify, and while we accept, without hesitation, all the evidence of growth and change from lower to higher types which science can trace, or even reasonably surmise, we find no reason to believe that the unit of spirit is highly organized matter, or that the phenomena of feeling and intellect and will, least of all those of duty and merit, can be explained by physiological units or physiological functions.

These thoughts have led us to observe that perhaps no change in the philosophical conceptions of man and nature which has occurred in modern times is more striking than that which has befallen the conceptions of organism and the organic. When Kant defined an organism as that in which the parts and wholes are mutually means and ends, and contrasted it so sharply with mechanism and the

mechanical, the conception and the doctrine were strange to most of the current philosophies. Both at first quite outran the philosophy of the times. The materialists and the physiologists regarded the distinction as merely verbal, rejecting the conception as irrational and altogether transcendental. Since that time the term organic has become the watchword by which matter has essayed to dispense with spirit, and asserted its claim to the capacity to share in its higher functions, not only asserting for dead matter, under favoring circumstances, the capacity to rise into life, but for life also to become intelligence, personality, and conscience, by the progressive aspirations of the "social tissue." Mr. Stephen may dignify speculations of this sort by pronouncing them purely scientific; he may contrast them with investigations of another sort by calling the last metaphysical; but until experiment and mathematics have come in to his aid, he can claim no justification of scientific method or scientific authority for his "social tissue," in explaining either physical or ethical functions.

The fact deserves notice here that the world is not indebted to Kant for the conception of an organism or organic relations, however much it may owe to him for a satisfactory definition of either or of both. It deserves, also, to be remembered that the conception was not originally affirmed of material, but of spiritual, agents, and primarily of ethical functions. In the Socratic school, conspicuously in the teachings of Plato, the soul was conceived of as an economy or commonwealth of *powers*, of which some assert the function of control, and to which the others acknowledge the obligation to serve. It would not be difficult to show that Mr. Spencer's theory of development, by which the functions of spirit are conceived as explained by the higher potencies of organized matter, was by his own concession taken from a school which was eminently spiritualistic in its affinities. A sentence or two from Bishop Butler will show that the conception of an organism of spiritual agencies was a familiar thought with ethical writers long before Mr. Stephen introduced the conception of "social tissue" as the condition of organic activity, or conceived that organic evolution alone would furnish a scientific, as distinguished from a metaphysical, basis for ethical phenomena.

Butler writes as follows:

"Neither of these are the nature we are taking a view of. But it is the inward frame of man, considered as a *system or constitution*; whose several parts are united, not by a physical principle or individuation, but by the respects they have to each other; the chief of



which is the subjection which the appetites, passions, and particular affections have to the one supreme principle of reflection or conscience. The system or constitution is formed by, and consists in, these respects and this subjection. Thus, the body is a *system or constitution*; so is a tree; so is every machine. Consider all the several parts of a tree, without the mutual respects they have to each other, and you have not at all the idea of a tree; but add these respects, and this gives you the idea. The body may be impaired by sickness, a tree may decay, a machine be out of order, and yet the system and constitution of them not totally dissolved. There is plainly somewhat which answers to all this in the moral constitution of man. Whoever will consider his own nature will see that the several appetites, passions, and particular affections have different respects amongst themselves. They are restraints upon, and are in a proportion to, each other. This proportion is just and perfect, when all those under principles are perfectly coincident with conscience, so far as their nature permits, and, in all cases, under its absolute and entire direction. The least excess or defect, the least alteration of the due proportions amongst themselves, or of their coincidence with conscience, though not proceeding into action, is some degree of disorder in the moral constitution. But perfection, though plainly intelligible and supposable, was never attained by any man."—Sermon III., on Human Nature.

If the conceptions of an organism and of organic relations are not new, it is also true that sociological theories of morals are by no means a novelty. Long before the time of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Stephen, the social organism which originated and enforced law, and uttered the last word, *the ultima ratio*, on all questions of duty and rights, was conceived by Hobbes as a huge leviathan, who had been developed into organized form under the actions and reactions of man's natural hostility to his fellow-man. By Mandeville moral distinctions were explained after a very peculiar organic and socialistic fashion, and by Adam Smith they were resolved into organic actings and reactings of the individual man with "the abstract man within the breast," which was supposed to represent the actual and the average judgments of the "social tissue," in the movements of which each individual was supposed to sympathize. But we must confess that never before was there a social system which asserted for itself such lofty pretensions and such a self-sufficing authority as this of Mr. Stephen and Mr. Spencer. We shall attempt to follow it in the

several steps by which Mr. Stephen represents it as rising "like an exhalation," by scientific necessity, till it assumes to itself the authority to govern the world of social and intelligent beings.

Mr. Stephen, it will be remembered, does not begin with star-dust or the primeval atoms. He finds in existence an organism consisting of living beings with certain indefinite interests, as the constituent units that make up his social tissue. Some of these instincts are organic, and tend to the formation of the social state, with certain customs or ways of actions which are essential to this end. Not all these instincts are the subjects of law of any kind; none except they are customary, and for that reason deserve attention or are capable of receiving it; and not even all that are customary, but only such as affect the common or social organism. By the organic force that happens to appear within the structure there emerge certain types of action that harmonize with some form of organic life, which, being favored by the consenting action of the subordinate agents, prevail, being accepted as laws by the fact that they exert an actual control. Such an organic force or law becomes moral when it concerns itself with the more important relations and instincts. Those which are trifling it does not meddle with. It is applied to all men, *i. e.*, to all with whom its ends require it should concern itself, *i. e.*, to the intelligent and select members of the community, the others being incapable of being organized, and left out as rubbish. Naturally, this force concerns itself with those impulses which are essential to the well-being, as contrasted with the bare existence, of the social organism—hence, with those which are general, or, at least, are believed to be so, and for this reason are supposed to be fixed and eternal. As blind impulses by insensible gradations are transformed into and exchanged for intelligent assent and enlightened conviction, the up-building force contemplates the character as more significant than special acts. Its requirement is *be* rather than *do*, because *to be* tells immeasurably more on the social tissue than simply *to do*. All these processes involve steps of generalization. Last of all, such a tendency must prevail because the organic asserts its claim to live a vigorous life, and consequently must assert and enforce all the conditions of its health and life, so far as its laws do not execute themselves.

Thus far we have the form of the moral law. If we consider next the *contents* of this law, we shall find it to be twofold according as we consider the individual or society, respectively, as an organism sole

and separate of itself, or an organism within an organism to which it is related. The shaping force which seems to proceed from the social tissue, so soon as it takes the form of a feeling, or, as we should say in unsophisticated speech, so soon as it emerges into consciousness, tends to continue and prevail. According as the consequences of any action affect ourselves or others does it become a duty to ourselves or a duty to others. Many acts have both relations, and, as it scarcely need be said, become doubly duties.

It would seem from the author's development of his meaning that the ethical forces hitherto considered, though real, have not as yet emerged into consciousness. It is not, then, enough that the social tissue exerts its organic force on the separate instincts to the upholding of its structure, but the man must raise the question, What is lovely to me; why am I bound to be courageous, or virtuous, or truthful, so far as my feelings toward my fellow-men are concerned? These actions are preëminently concerned with my fellow-men; why am I obliged to perform them? What is my fellow-man to me? Is there any bond of conscious sympathy which connects me with him and serves as a ground for obligation? In asking and answering these questions Mr. Stephen is forced to leave the physiological ground to which he has hitherto limited himself. He no longer falls back on the social factor or the social tissue as the quarry for his commonplaces, but comes out into the open field of conscious experience, and derives his arguments from an analysis of the familiar phenomena of the psychical human life. It is true, his method of analysis is peculiar to himself. It is more or less affected by his private theories and his physiological method, but it is thoroughly psychological for all that, and brings his ethical conclusions more within the range of ordinary discussions.

The point which he makes, first of all, is that man, by his constitution, is *altruistic*, *i. e.*, directly and sympathetically interested in the happiness of his fellow-man. The object with which he is supposed to be confronted is the happiness of another. This and this only makes him happy. Manifold cases may be supposed in which the happiness of another is concerned, in which this fact is intermingled with other elements that affect my sensibilities; cases in which he is happy and I am happy, while the happiness is unknown or unconsidered by me. Circumstances may occur in which I am made happy by some event which makes him happy in fact, but by some other relation than that which it holds to my own sensibility, yet none of these conditions alter the result when I am confronted with

him as a happy man. Manifold other agencies may accompany this single one, but the action of this one is not any the less real. Upon all these and other points the author bestows abundant and superabundant elaboration. He even goes so far as to argue that a complete knowledge of a non-ego as similar to ourselves in capacities of feeling cannot be attained or supposed except it involve on our part an active altruistic sympathy with him.

We do not care to argue in detail any of the points which the author asserts or denies in this discussion. With the general position that man in his natural sensibility is altruistic and sympathetic we heartily concur, but we as earnestly contend that in altruism as thus conceived, *i. e.*, as a natural impulse and not a voluntary activity, there is no moral excellence, nor any moral quality. Mr. Stephen having no place for the responsible will, must of course accept the sensibility as morally good wherever it furthers the general welfare or reinforces the social organism. That is, he must hold that altruism, or the love of my neighbor, is virtuous in quality not when in intention it is voluntary, but only when and so far as it is useful in fact. In his theory consequences and tendencies are sufficient to determine moral quality. Intentions or purposes are not required. It will also be observed by the careful reader that the physiological method upon which the author lays such confident stress, and to which he attaches such supreme importance as alone truly scientific, is abandoned altogether when he enters upon his psychological analysis and concerns himself with psychical experiences. The terms, "social factor," "social tissue," "organic tendencies," and "organic health," which have been so constantly lauded as alone scientific and not at all metaphysical, are now unconsciously abandoned, as it would seem, because the relationships and phenomena are of another kind and demand another terminology. It is true that the habit into which the author had fallen still clings to him, of personifying or hypostasizing the faculties and even the states of the soul. But the feelings as feelings occupy his exclusive attention, and are invested with supreme authority in his scale of worth, while the physiological terminology with which he began has been almost dismissed, and the familiar ethical household words of the conscious life have taken their place.

There is one emotion, however, which we look for almost in vain, and that is the feeling of *obligation*. We might expect that under the title, *The Rule of Conduct*, this peculiar experience would come



up for discussion with the inner authority of the moral law. They do so in fact though not in form. While they are discussed nowhere if not here, the notice of both is slight and superficial. The author uses the term rarely in this connection, and always without dwelling upon its import. So far as we understand him, he derives any and every rule of duty as a rule from the anticipated sentiment of society which the subject of it forecasts as the result of his own conduct, and enforces it by the hopes and fears of the rewards and punishments which are experienced in its smiles and its frowns. Obligation depends on the reaction of the social organism, which is sure to follow, *i. e.*, it proceeds from the interested sympathies of our fellow-men, which are presumed to be concurrent with our own inner impulses. The virtuous man acquires sympathies which "may deviate from the law of prudence, and which may therefore involve self-sacrifice." "To be reasonable he must be sympathetic, to be thoroughly and systematically selfish he must be an idiot, or, in other words, we may say he has made a bargain in virtue, of which he makes a common stock of pains and pleasures with the whole society to which he belongs, and acquires all the new advantages which are dependent on the social union. We shall have to consider whether the bargain be a good or a bad one." If we conclude that it is good, we must accept the authority which social sympathy and responsibility impose, and this is moral obligation.

The conception of *merit* attracts more of the author's attention, and raises several questions that are more or less difficult of adjustment. "Conduct is meritorious when regarded as giving a claim upon the approval of others." Its merit or meritoriousness is its deservedness of the favor of our fellow-men. According to Stephen, men respond to this claim, that is, they approve of virtue, because it contributes to the social vitality. They sympathize necessarily with the disposition which contributes to this good, and so it claims and receives their favor. A satisfactory explanation of merit would add another element, by asserting that the act or character which merits the favor not only addresses the sensibility of the community, but enforces its claim by the motive, that if they respond to its demands they will approve their own approval. Mr. Stephen does not proceed so far in his analysis. He does, indeed, raise or recognize the facts that the question is frequently discussed, whether the act which is *motived* by the desire of this reward can be truly virtuous; but he finds for himself no difficulty in accepting an influence as legitimate

which is universally recognized and approved. Besides, it is altogether consistent with the fundamental principles of his own ethical theory, which derives all moral excellence from the dominating force of the social organism. Stephen does, indeed, recognize the truth that an action performed from an intrinsic motive, *i. e.*, the motive furnished by the nature of the act, rather than from an expected reward, is the more meritorious. "The villain only dislikes hanging, and murder so far as it leads to hanging; the benevolent man objects to murder whether it has or has not bad consequences to himself. I consider, therefore, that he has a certain claim upon me and upon society at large, inasmuch as he has done for nothing what another man will only do for pay," etc.

But another difficulty presents itself which strikes deeper. "If we wish well to virtue, we must wish virtue to be rewarded, and yet, with the certainty of a reward, virtue disappears. A man saves my life out of sheer benevolence, and I reward him out of sheer gratitude. But if he had a right to be rewarded, or could count upon reward as certainty, he would so far cease to be virtuous." "So far as I estimate the extrinsic I deduct from the intrinsic motive." After a further statement of the difficulty which besets the divine as well as human administration, he concludes that it is clear "that merit can only belong to voluntary action." "The act must spring from 'a man's' character, it must be the fruit of some motive which we regard as excellent." "We may dislike a man for qualities which we recognize as being entirely beyond control, but the sentiment only becomes praise or blame worthy when we conceive it as having a certain power of modifying its objects. Moral approval is the name of the sentiment developed through the social medium which modifies a man's character in such a way as to fit him to be an efficient member of the 'social tissue.'" "It is the spiritual pressure which generates and maintains morality." "In saying that a man has merit, we mean that he has virtue, while we implicitly recognize the fact that virtue is the product of social discipline."

In this discussion the author is led to recognize and emphasize the meritoriousness of virtue, and in this connection to assert again that conduct, to be virtuous, must be voluntary, whatever this may mean. He sums up his creed as follows: "These conditions are frequently expressed by saying that virtue implies free-will, that it implies effort, and that it implies a love of right for the sake of right." Our readers will remember that very early in the volume Mr. Stephen

had declined "to thrash any additional chaff," in discussing the topic of the freedom of the will. And yet he had anticipated that he should return to it again. The relation of merit brings him to the discussion, because, as he says, "it seems necessary to traverse expressly the contention" that "a determinist must logically be a disbeliever in merit. In one sense indeed that contention is admissible. I admit that there can be no question of merit as between man and his Maker. The potter has no right to be angry with his pots. If he wanted them different he should have made them different. The consistent theologian must choose between the Creator and the Judge. He must abandon the conception of merit or the conception of absolute dependence." With this flourish of trumpets the author enters upon the discussion, in which he shows some acuteness, some irreverence, and some ignorance of what a well-instructed critic might say in reply. We do not propose to criticise his argument. We do not gather clearly, from his statements or his arguments, whether he believes in a personal Creator who is also a moral ruler. We do conclude that he is not wholly ignorant of the argument on both sides of this greatly vexed controversy, and, therefore, are surprised that he has overlooked and misconceived the positions which a practised antagonist would take in respect to the relations of the choosing person to the character which he has formed and is continually renewing by his voluntary activity, while the so-called objective motives and subjective responses obey the law of causation. One token of frankness and insight into the merits of the discussion and its possible issue against his own position we find in his concluding observation, "But it, *i. e.*, the discussion, is not likely to disappear to-morrow."

As our object is rather to state than to criticise the system of Mr. Stephen, we might consider our task accomplished. But inasmuch as he has taken the pains to present it as seen from other important points of view, it is no more than fair to allow him to restate it as explained by himself under two or three important titles. Under "Conscience" we find the following. He had reasserted that "Every moral judgment is an implicit, if not an explicit, approval of a certain type of character," and that the highest type "again must according to our theory be that which is on the whole best fitted for the conditions of social welfare." To these positions he adds, "I have not maintained that this is a description of the explicit aim of moral conduct." How this is organized and defined he explains thus: "To any particular association of human beings there

must correspond a certain corporate sentiment. A state implies the existence of feelings of loyalty and patriotism," etc., etc. "Now, upon my showing, the sense of duty in the purely moral being has the same relation to the social tissue as the various special sentiments corresponding to each organ or association have to the body to which they correspond. I am patriotic so far as Englishman, and moral so far as human being, or, rather, as constituent member of a certain social code." In the same strain he writes at times with great beauty and force, his design being to show that our fellow-men make their appeal to our responsive capacity for some *particular form* of general benevolence, and in this way we are constantly tested and educated to this comprehensive duty. His reasonings and illustrations might serve as an effective comment on the truth: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen." His remarks in this connection, upon the family, as furnishing a natural and constant discipline to the ethical love of man, are especially felicitous, and lead us to wonder that he has no profounder insight into the psychological requisites for its existence. He says, with singular felicity and insight: "The child has become a moral agent, as it has learned self-restraint, sympathy, truthfulness in the special concrete use." "Admitting the reality of altruism, we must also admit that it is habitually stimulated in the family at the earliest period of life, and that family affections are both the type and root of all lovely and altruistic feeling. As soon as we are affected by the sorrow of our brother we can be really moved by the sorrow of any other human being who comes into any relation to us." But we are sorry to be let down from this elevated strain a few pages further on, when, after extolling maternal love "as the present type as well as the original form of virtue," he adds: "If you ask 'why is maternal love a virtue?' the answer is, 'because it is essential to social virtue;' because, in other words, the vitality of every society from the earliest period is dependent upon the vigorous action of this instinct." The feeling "is essential, and perceived to be essential to social welfare, and therefore (for this is the only reason we can give) it is a virtue, and a recognized virtue." "But if we look at the case from the opposite side and ask for the motive reason of action we must invert the order of deduction. The mother loves because she is so constituted as to be capable of loving, and because she is a part of a society in which the instinct is stimulated and fostered. For her the love



is its own justification; she has the sentiment and need look no further."

Another comprehensive and fundamental topic is taken up by Mr. Stephen, viz., utilitarianism as contrasted with evolutionism. It will be remembered that at the outset he had assumed evolutionism as fundamentally valid, not for any metaphysical considerations, but simply because, as he alleged, it had been established as a scientific generalization. In this review, or retrospect, he compares it with modern utilitarianism as a foundation for ethical deduction. What he calls utilitarianism is characterized as atomic in its elements, which are connected by no higher relation than that of association, and consequently furnish no ground for any faith in progress. In every one of these particulars evolutionism has the advantage. But even the progress for which evolution provides is a progress in theoretical morality only, and not in practical goodness, there being no scientific reason in the law of evolutionism for progress in the latter, the tendencies to development and evolution in the theory of duty being altogether different from any force or law which insures that men shall be actually controlled by its forces or laws. But yet evolutionism, as Mr. Stephen still contends, provides the conception of "a slowly developing social organism," and thus "has rendered the greatest service to ethics as the variations themselves become themselves reducible under a fixed rule, and the necessity of recognizing the social organism as something not formed by simple mechanical convictions restores the due authority to social instincts without elevating them to transcendental intuitions."

The vexed problem of the variability of morality the author solves by the summary statement—"The moral sense is, indeed, according to me, a product of the social factor. It is the sense of certain instincts which have come to be imperfectly organized in the race, and which are vigorous in proportion as the society is healthy and vigorous."

Our limits remind us that we should hasten our pace. We come, then, to the conclusion, in which he reviews the ground which he has traversed, and sums up the gains which he has made, and takes a look over the future. We will not say that he gives us a conclusion in which nothing is concluded, but we are forced to affirm that his summing up seems less positive and unqualified than his previous utterances, and his concessions of uncertainty are far ampler and more outspoken than those given in his extended argument. While he is

equally positive that ethics is the science of social welfare, and that it derives all its definiteness and authority from this fact, and that man is naturally altruistic in his sensibility to the happiness of his fellow, he confesses that these two articles constitute nearly the whole of his scientific creed. As to whether either scientific or practical morality are to make progress, he confesses to no justified certainty. As to any confidence derived from the interpretation of nature, or the plan and purpose of an intelligent or beneficent Creator, he disposes of all considerations of this kind under the appellation of metaphysics and theology, still insisting that the facts and decisions of what he calls science are alone axiomatic and trustworthy. As to the freedom and responsibility of the human will, he dismisses it as unworthy of argument, because, forsooth, it is self-evident that the set of impulses with which man is born, and the impelling motives which beset him in life, must, of necessity, form his habits and determine his character, while the goodness of God cannot be defended in suffering the law of duty to be broken. All reasonings from metaphysical and theological sources are at best indecisive and shadowy, when contrasted with what he insists are the conclusions of science, which, as he expounds them, seem equally, if not more, strikingly metaphysical than even at the beginning.

The frankness and honesty of the author are fitted to win the confidence of the reader. The chief interest and value of his treatise are found in the fact that it mirrors so distinctly much of the ethical philosophy of the times, which may be characterized as at once weighty with important truth in respect to the social embodiment and drapery of duty, as it is defective in its living spirit and its fundamental philosophy. It were most instructive to consider how vividly it reflects the ethical theories which are current among many cultivated men, with their hollow pretensions and pessimistic hopelessness, as contrasted with the elevated and hopeful system which is enforced by Christianity and exemplified by its Master.

NOAH PORTER.

## MORAL ASPECTS OF THE TARIFF.

AT what points does the question of the tariff touch the sphere of obligation, of duty, of morality? The inquiry relates, primarily, to the Government, and, secondarily, to the individuals for whom systems are created, and who determine the policy and the character of the Government.

Towns, cities, counties, states, are concerned with raising revenue. In the broad sense, only nations have to do with a tariff, especially with a protective tariff. Vast relations with other peoples, a purchasing power of large extent, markets that attract many commodities, industries diversified and expanding, are presupposed in a policy of protection to domestic production. The first factor in a tariff, then, is a nation. Fundamental to such a conception is national life and national character. The obligation rests upon a nation to live, to live well, generously, nobly. This life must not be at hap-hazard, but it ought to be according to intelligence, design, high and worthy purpose.

The collection of revenue may be classed as one of the first necessities of a nation—an imperative condition of living at all. It is like the getting of food for a man. The plan of direct taxation may conceivably be the best method of providing means for carrying on the Government; just as hunting and fishing, the simplest ways, may be at the moment the best method of securing food for one's self and one's family. But unless civilization is a snare and a fraud, the individual is elevated, and society is broadened and ameliorated, by the introduction of agriculture, by the processes which mechanism and chemistry teach, by the gifts of commerce, and the contributions of the world's experience. The hunter and the fisherman yield to the citizen, whose table receives, in addition to all that they can give, whatever discovery and invention have enabled industry to gather over the whole earth. Humanity has not found the simplest food-gathering to be either the most economical or the most safe for dependence, either the most conducive to the well-being of the individual or the community for the immediate exigency, or the most fruitful of those blessings which beautify homes and give grandeur

and duration to states. Nor can that nation be deemed wise that asks only for so much money, for its pound of flesh, even if it be taken from the very heart of the people.

The nation is not only a political organism; it is also a moral personality in the highest sense.\* The obligation of the individual to make his daily tasks an instrument of discipline and improvement is an axiom. No less is a nation bound to seek to derive out of the routine of its operations that training and development that shall give it strength and elevation. In the reaction from the theory and the practice which, on the shores of the Mediterranean, sacrificed everything for the aggrandizement of the classic commonwealths, we run the risk of forgetting that, in the progress of humanity, the nation performs a grand part, and its life and well-being cannot be left to blind chance. With due regard to the rights of persons, the patriot owes it to his country to counsel for its welfare and its splendor, as that of a real power, rising above institutions and people, to last for centuries, and with a mission not for the present only, but for all the future as well. We are not to strive for

"the glory that was Greece,  
And the grandeur that was Rome,"

in the same types; and surely the individual is not to be crushed and nullified, that temples may be built or provinces conquered and held. But the duty of a noble and a generous national life, according to modern and moral standards, is not a dream. Into the nostrils of our current politics may well be breathed the inspiration, worthy of the author of *Paradise Lost*, of the ideal of a State:

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."

With such open, clear-seeing eyes, a noble national life should be fostered, deliberately, of settled purpose, with all the intelligence that we can master. That duty covers all fields of legislation and administration. Not the least, since, as Edmund Burke says, "the revenue of the State is the State," the purpose should be carried into

---

\* In a notable volume entitled *The Nation*, Rev. Elisha Mulford, LL.D., elaborates this proposition.



the raising of money as well as into the methods of expenditure, and it should be made, as he again declares it to be, the "sphere of every active virtue."

The assumption is violent that such a policy calls for overmuch interference with the citizen. It demands that, inasmuch as revenue legislation must affect the people in their industries, the burdens shall be placed with thoughtfulness and even tenderness, not carelessly, and with intent to cause friction. The hand of the Government should touch the citizen as rarely as possible, but always in favor and in blessing only. It is the distinction of the tariff that it makes its collections only at ports and frontiers, and over workshop and farm and factory extends a protecting shield.

The advocate of free trade boldly says that he leaves labor and capital at home, like commerce abroad, to take care of itself; that his duty is done when he keeps the Government from meddling with either the production or the consumption of the country. The friends of a protective tariff plead that the demands for revenue must be adjusted with the purpose of developing and expanding the fountains of the prosperity and well-being of the nation. On the one hand is the plea of laissez-faire, for collecting duties without asking about the effects; for a tariff for revenue only, reaching out for money, not with the threat, "Your money or your life," but with the plain notice that the Government insists on the money, and leaves the life of whomsoever is concerned to take care of itself. On the other hand is the distinct recognition of the obligation, in every act of the Government, and not least in the raising of revenue, to consult, as essential to the life of the nation, for the production upon which depend vitality and strength, and for the wages and comforts and elevation of the citizens, upon which rest national sanity and growth, and the conditions of greatness and splendor.

The opponents of protective duties may assert that in all other branches of politics they aim to aid in worthy and far-reaching national development. They are prone to apply their rule of non-interference by the Government, only in this single field; and it is notable that free-trade Great Britain carries governmental control into factories and tenements, and the relations of labor and land, to the extreme limits anywhere suggested.\* Yet there and here, the opponents of the tariff denounce the policy of so collecting the rev-

---

\* See illustrations in Herbert Spencer's essays on *The New Toryism* and *The Coming Slavery*.

enue as to favor home industry, urging that the effort to do so tends to evil, and is even immoral. The supporters of the American system find here the first claims of practical national morality.

Morality relates primarily to purpose. The advocates of a protective tariff are entitled to be judged, first, by the purposes which they proclaim and seek, and they will not decline to have their policy tried also by its effects. They avow that their theory, and, so far as may be, their practice, is to promote the good of the nation and of all its members, in the raising of revenue as in other political acts. This effort to do good, to benefit the laborer and through him the community, may be mistaken, but in its aim and essence it is commendable. The policy, in all its features, is marked by the strongest moral elements. While providing for the necessities of the Government, a protective tariff aims, 1, to increase production, the source of national wealth; 2, to give employment to all who are willing to work; 3, thus to multiply commodities and comforts for our own people; 4, to maintain the standard of wages, so that workmen may secure their own attractive homes, and the community may provide abundant schools and comely churches; and, 5, to render the country independent in peace and in war. Such aims may be only in part attained; but even when simply set forth they give character and elevation to legislation.

The objection is familiar, that this policy is organized national selfishness. It is not necessary to defend it by the claim that the highest morality must be enlightened and far-reaching self-development. The duty rests upon every nation, and preëminently upon one like our own, to use the talents committed to it, so as to give usury to humanity. We are blessed by resources of mine and stream and soil and forest and climate, which God has designed to be developed. Coal and iron cry aloud from the earth to be allied with human labor. Wide acres offer harvests to cheapen the food of the globe. Our cotton clothes even the Chinaman in his eastern home, as he could not be clothed without it, and the sheep of Texas and California affect the price of garments in London and Paris. Our contributions to the world's production increase the sum of commodities for the supply of kitchen and household, of shop and mill, of army and of navy. By as much as a nation—as this country—adds to the volume of these contributions, by so much it augments the current of prosperity for the world at large. The best service which this republic can render to humanity is to make the

most of its own resources, to open the treasures of its mines and fields and forests, and to render the labor of its people efficient and remunerative.

It has rendered this service in marvellous degree in the eleven decades of its existence. By no other land, in any like period, has so much been added to the sum of the world's goods, as by the United States in the last quarter-century. By no other land has so much force been imparted to the movement for the elevation of labor by the maintenance of the rates of wages. No other people that the sun ever shone upon have contained within themselves in so large degree the means for self-support, and for the promotion of a well-ordered and progressive life.

If, instead of the general prevalence of a protective policy, and especially since 1861, our revenue system had been moulded according to the free-trade theories, inevitably our production would have been more restricted than now in its diversity and scope. According to those theories, production would have been more developed in those branches fitted for an export trade, while the home market would have been less cared for, and the variety of our manufactures would have been far less. The case is not open for demonstration, it is true, yet we may well question whether, under any conditions, American farmers could wisely and profitably have raised more grain and meats and cotton than they have been raising; so that the addition of other products of the soil, and the augmentation of wealth in manufactures, have been positive gifts to mankind. It is conceivable that single branches of manual industry might have been expanded under a different system; but countries of a single crop and of a single manufacture are the nurseries of panic and distress and famine. The probability is great, amounting almost to certainty, that without the impetus of protection no branch of manufactures could have been brought to the point it has now attained in our country, nor could our agriculture have approximated its present marvellous extent. With that strong ally, protection, American enterprise and energy have poured the riches of our gifts from Nature and the products of our labor into the treasury of mankind; and our own welfare has thus proved the best and most healthful help that we could possibly offer to our brothers throughout the world. The practice and the result have, in the Areopagus of morals, fully justified protection.

Let us turn from the consideration of the relations of nations, as

political organisms, to the tariff, to analyze its moral bearings on the individuals who compose the nations. Here it is not a simple question of purpose and aim; it is even more an inquiry into effects. It will not be denied that the tendency of a protective policy is to introduce new occupations into a country, and to maintain a diversity of industry. The result is to enlist talents that may have been idle and to develop skill that may have been hidden, and so to multiply the energies as well as the numbers employed in production. The marvellous fertility of the American people in invention has been incited and fructified by every new mechanical industry, by every fresh effort to carry on artistic manufacture or to apply science to daily use. A novel handicraft, the building of an additional factory and the making of wares before bought abroad, are each bugle-calls to genius to design better methods, to cheapen production, to economize labor. Civilization needs agriculture; but it does not reach its fullest flower where that is the only vocation. Where industry is most varied; where artisans are busy with all that invention has proffered and science has gathered, and art joins hands with mechanism, the development of material prosperity leads in intellectual progress, and trains a broader and higher humanity. That which diversifies manufactures, which helps to differentiate men, which aids in lifting society out of single ruts to the wide highways where thought and action catch the rays of the sun at mid-day, must strengthen, must even give noble forms to intellectual life.

The criticism is familiar that protective duties foster monopolies and extend favoritism to particular industries. The claim assumes that only merchandise which comes into direct competition with articles subject to imposts feels the impetus of such duties. So far as the tariff adds to the volume of employment, it creates a demand for labor that increases wages and improves our markets for all commodities. The earnings of labor are in equilibrium in all similar occupations in this country, or are seeking that state. The withdrawal of men from the farm to the factory causes an advance in the pay of the farm-laborer; and the erection of a mill where none existed before opens the way for operatives to get new situations and to demand better remuneration. The tariff must levy the same rates on all imports identical in material and workmanship; and, just in so far as it checks importation, it opens home markets to all alike. While it collects a certain admission fee from foreigners, it leaves the whole field absolutely free to our



citizens. If profit is advanced in iron or woollen or cotton, or whatever branch of production, every American has the same chance to get it; he may engage in that which is called a favored industry. Any excess of gain above the average is offered to all comers, and the adjustment to a normal condition is soon accomplished by natural competition. Even if there were an attempt at favoritism, since all legislation is public, and the market prices are no secret, the favor must extend to every one who cares to enjoy it, in every State and every locality.

Still less can the tariff be held to blame for fostering any monopoly. It opens home markets for home producers, without distinction or limit. Whatever protection is afforded is so broad as to cover primarily the whole field of the particular manufactures which come into competition with dutiable articles. To that extent it incites to enterprise and growth in that field, and to the construction of establishments to compete with those already existing. This extension is in constant progress; this rivalry is the marked feature of our industrial condition. Monopoly cannot fortify itself against competition which is thus both attack and siege. In several branches the capitalists engaged would gladly assent to the abolition of protective duties in order to guard against the erection of additional factories in this country, feeling able to meet foreign competitors, and dreading more rivalry at home; for the latter creates a greater demand for labor, while it increases the supply of commodities. The cases in which leading manufacturers are opposed to our tariff can generally be met by this explanation. The continuance of protection in such branches serves to maintain the rate of wages, while it carries down the price of the product to the consumer.

The cry of monopoly against American manufacturers is both unjust and cruel. Unless where patents secure privileges (and these are wholly outside of our revenue system), all persons have here equal freedom and a chance for equal benefits in every branch of production. Corporations have become the common masters in manufactures, and their capital is, as a rule, gathered from multitudes of small investors, often from widows and orphans, and others whose inability for business compels them to intrust their means to the care of experts. Thus manufactures are the dependence of the many, both for the earnings of their capital and for the employment of their hands. At the same time the business of importing foreign

goods must rest with the few, for it is necessarily a personal vocation, in which the capitalist risks his money under his own supervision. The need of the division of labor, and the advantages of vast plants and immense capital, must maintain and probably extend the process of industrial consolidation, and large organizations will continue to invite capital yet sleeping, and to offer more and more an opportunity for such as choose to engage in manufactures. In this sense a protective tariff is an effectual enemy to monopoly. Under its influence the West and the South are developing their natural resources and offering work to their people, and they are already competitors in the open markets of the nation. The furnaces and forges of Birmingham, in Alabama, repel the charge that the iron duties are simply for Pennsylvania; the factories of Atlanta, in Georgia, rebuke the allegation that the tariff creates any monopoly in cotton fabrics for New England; and the diversified production of Indiana is the demonstration that the American system bears fruit on every soil. If, then, the verdict of immorality can be fastened on favoritism and monopoly, the plea for the tariff is that its effect is to destroy both, and to widen more and more the field of employment for capital and labor, and thus is in accord with the highest moral standards.

The advocates of the protective system find a stronghold just here. They care for the consumer by magnifying and extending production. In levying the revenue, they inquire not so much how or where consumption shall be affected, as how many more acres shall be opened to tillage or to cattle, how many more tons of ore shall be taken from the mines, how many more yards of fabrics shall be turned out by the mills, how many industries shall be established or developed on a larger scale, how many more dollars shall go into the pockets of the wage-workers. For the producer is the factor important to the nation; the architect of its strength and splendor, as he is also the source of comfort, of progress, of social and intellectual, as well as material, progress for the individuals who compose the nation. The consumer, inevitable as he is, is the expression of weakness, that reverse of the shield with which the artist would willingly dispense. Production, it is true, looks to consumption, as life moves on to death. But the making of things, even with the purpose of a use which will destroy them, is the true vitality. The measure of wealth is the excess of production above consumption. This excess the advocates of protection seek by all means to create and to

increase. They summon every man to the field or the factory; they create the conditions by which he may find employment and a market; they study to render labor remunerative, and to turn the horn of abundance into the lap of the people. They seek results which affect the higher interests of humanity. Full larders and comfortable clothing are conditions of happy homes. They build schools, the nurseries of intelligence, and open and attractive churches arise to express a genuine thankfulness. In every land and in every age the altar receives the sacrifices for flocks and harvests, the firstlings of production. Human aspirations ascend instinctively with the smoke and the incense.

Even in raising revenue, the statesman has a right—it is, indeed, his patriotic duty—not simply to get money for the treasury, but, even in that prosaic task, to develop manhood and foster civilization. He may properly inquire, not coldly and mathematically, how a particular measure will affect the stern law of supply and demand, but how it will bear upon homes and families, whether it will add to or diminish the comforts of parents and wife, whether it will bless the children with better food and clothing, and provide for them a more thorough education; whether, in a word, it will contribute to the promotion of morality and virtue, to the worth of a people, as well as to the grandeur and power of a nation. For while it is a legitimate business to get money honestly, it is a common privilege, and it ought to be the ambition of rulers and their advisers, to train men, and to plant and adorn homes.

In order to advance both these purposes, liberal wages to those who work with their hands are a necessity. While too often among working-men, as among habitual idlers, time and money are wasted in dissipation, as a rule homes are brighter, families are better clad and more tenderly cared for, and schools and churches are more freely sustained, almost in the ratio that wages are higher and more steady. The surest guarantee for order and for progress is in the homestead owned by the mechanic and operative, by every man who works for wages; and that guarantee cannot be created unless there is a margin in the rewards for labor, above the bare cost of food and sustenance. For the title to the homestead betokens thrift and prudence, reliance upon the future, provision for old age and for the growing family. The free-traders may insist that if foreign competition should carry wages down, it will also reduce the cost of living. This half truth may content the hard theorist who does not go beyond the mere

question of money. But the demonstration is complete that, on the same scale of comforts, the cost of living is now as low in the United States as anywhere in the world, and that practically a reduction of wages here must compel a scrimping in the table, the clothing, the household arrangements, the education of the children, and the movement and conduct of life. Especially and obviously the reduction of wages must diminish, if it would not wholly destroy, the means of the mechanic and the operative to own his own home, and to be by that strong tie identified with society and the State, and a trustee of the pledges of the present and the hopes of the next generation.

The protective tariff, by the confession of its opponents, keeps up wages, and this it does in every branch of industry. The struggle for life is often severe and trying enough, no thoughtful observer can need to be told. It is a great deal that the twenty, thirty, forty, or even fifty per cent. of increase in the returns for labor, secured by our customs duties, smooths many a pathway, illumines many a cottage, opens the way for many a lad to broader usefulness, and in our villages and cities gathers thousands of industrious citizens under their own roofs, within walls which are the castles of the owners and as well of the peace and welfare of the community.

Even here, with our higher wages and our more generous provision for all our people, the spirit of unrest is busy. Communication with the Old World is so close and frequent that diseases are easily imported, and popular movements extend from one continent to another. We suffer also from our own trials and burdens; and the perfect freedom of speech and action which we enjoy brings to the surface whatever seethes in the brain and heart of even a few. This very discussion, the assertions of organizations often extreme and unreasonable, the grappling with the greatest questions which can concern humanity, show to all the world how much more self-restrained, how much less inclined to brutality, and how much less disposed to make heroes of dynamiters and the leaders of cruel mobs are our wage-earners than those of other lands, and how debate and deliberation and even the sharpest controversy array the trained eye, the skilled hand, and the tough muscle, perhaps slowly, yet surely, on the side of order and of law and of equal and independent manhood.

We cannot escape the spray which dashes over us from the wild waves of European discontent. When the problems which Sir



Thomas More and Bacon found fundamental in high politics dawn upon those who toil with their hands, the solution cannot be instantaneous and satisfactory; for the wisest of philosophers are yet doubtful of the answer; and socialism and communism, parents of anarchy, are rampant in the schools abroad and lurk even in some of our universities.

But see how, on the whole wisely and well, our "plain people" adhere to practical sense in the most difficult circumstances. Compare the tone of discussion, the character of the demands, the readiness for settlement, in the disputes which arise here, with those reported in other countries. If new theories are freely broached and are hospitably received among working-men, they are scrutinized and weighed and judged in a temper and with a sagacity assuring stability for the State. Even the stress of business panics and of prolonged interruption of production, which human wisdom has in no country been able to ward off, elicits courage and patience and endurance that deserve recognition.

For the real ills which exist, for the tendency to seek radical and dangerous change, so much less threatening here than elsewhere, the remedy is surely not to aggravate the hardships of the producers, is not to reduce wages, is not to establish the conditions which are so appalling in the Old World. Is it not rather to strive in every way to improve the circumstances of all who labor with their hands? Let the Government beware how it strikes down the safeguards of our industry, how it does anything to impoverish those who keep the wheels of production and traffic in motion. When the march of civilization even here crowds sometimes almost cruelly on not a few who are restive and may become violent, the signals of danger should be heeded. The contentment of the people may well be sought by keeping our revenue system always adjusted so as to maintain liberal wages and comfortable and attractive homes.

Shall we calculate the cost of such treasures, of such sources of riches and of power? "There is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty." A nation could well afford a large outlay to train its people to a broad and diversified industry, to render them contented in happy homes, and to command industrial independence. What shall we say when the control of home markets and the impetus to domestic competition, secured by duties which go into the treasury, reduce prices to the consumer and enrich the people both by enlarged production and by economies in many

branches? The increase in the volume and variety of commodities cannot be disputed. The fall in prices consequent upon a policy of protection is demonstrated by the statistics of our country; and it may be cited as an axiom that in every case where home production has been stimulated so that the supply has been brought to equal the demand, the price of the article has been reduced. The claim more general still may be maintained, that the addition to the supply of any commodity fostered by protection inevitably tends to a reduction in its price. Protective duties are thus not a tax, in the sense that they are collected from our own people, while their stimulating effect on production places them on a distinctively different ground.

The assumption is therefore wholly unauthorized, that any funds are voted by a tariff for the promotion of industries. The estimate sometimes put forth, that the whole duty is collected from the consumer in excess of the cost and dealers' profits, and that a like charge is imposed on home products designed for a like use, is absurd, in the light of the trade reports of this and other countries. Instances are at hand where commodities are sold at less than the duties collectable on like foreign products. The British or European manufacturer, or the importer, exacts the highest price that his merchandise will bring, and only accepts a lower rate when weaker demand or stronger competition offsets the duty. Upon the importations of any considerable period, as, for example, since the enactment of the Morrill Tariff in 1861, a careful reckoning cannot fail to show that the saving to the American people, by reason of the stimulated home competition, in the cost of the foreign commodities consumed here, far exceeds the duties paid into the treasury.

These duties, let it be remembered, are no secret provision, and offer no perquisite to person or class. They serve as a barrier to keep our own markets open for all our inhabitants, for every home enterprise, and they present a public stimulus for every activity. There is thus no national expenditure to be concealed. For the protection of the tariff is like the showers of spring, blessing all alike, and, like them, without money and without price. Like them again, it fructifies all harvests and enriches all life, vegetable and animal, and strengthens humanity for its inevitable and perpetual struggle.

Are we, then, defying the laws of trade, the axioms of supply and demand, the right to sell at the highest price and to buy at the lowest? These are phrases, and are always subject to the limita-

tions of production, of society, and of government. In fact, the chief free-trade power of the world is that which by its public policy meddles most with commerce, and uses all its resources to mark the channels of the traffic of its own people not only, but also of the rest of mankind. The American republic sends no fleets abroad to force its wares on unwilling countries. It maintains no armies in foreign lands to hold markets open for its manufacturers. It is content to keep its own markets for its own producers, and to develop on its own soil a trade more varied and more free than any other country enjoys. No other sixty million people on the globe feel the touch and the charges of the Government so little in their production and their commerce as do those of the United States.

This policy of encouragement to home production is beyond all else peaceful. It calls for no entangling alliances with foreign nations. It requires no great armies, no immense navies, no vast armaments, growing useless each decade, by reason of more destructive inventions. It has its triumphs "no less renowned than war."

For, by an industrial development, covering all the needs of mankind, a nation is prepared to defend itself, or in an emergency to carry hostilities across its borders; and, skilled in all mechanism, it will be prompt, if attacked, to create the latest devices of art and science for operations on land and sea. In 1861 the South was in the main an agricultural country, much as the whole Union would have been under a system of free trade, while the Northern States were masters in all handicrafts, apt in making everything required for self-support. The soldier of the Union was ready to run or to repair locomotives, to lay tracks or build bridges, and back of him was every mechanical resource which ingenuity or wealth could command. Arms were manufactured and iron-clads were put on the water as by magic. This mechanical superiority was worth in the great conflict more than scores of thousands of armed men. It contributed largely to the victory of the Union; and the furnaces and the factories gave immediate employment to the veterans when the rebellion was suppressed. In the restoration of peace the service was hardly less than in war.

While rumors of coming hostilities disturb all the powers of Europe, we are calm in our national independence. We may sell more or less provisions, the imports and exports of merchandise may be affected; but the world may fight its destructive battles without seriously interrupting the course of our production, or the

hundreds of millions of dollars of our inter-state commerce. Our food is derived from our own broad acres; not a single object of real necessity for raiment or household must be sought beyond our own borders. No preparation for national defence could be more complete than the creation and guarantee of such resources. They threaten no neighbor, while they constitute security for us. They may well warn any enemy that assault will be dangerous, that our overthrow will be impossible.

This independence is largely due to the industrial completeness which we owe to the tariff. Shall any critic claim that it has not a moral value and dignity which dollars cannot measure?

The proper rates of duties present questions beyond the scope of this paper. The considerations which have been urged require that those rates should be adequate for protection. This requirement does not involve frequent changes, for stability is an important factor in prosperity. The charge is easily put forth that an increase of duties implies corruption on the part of legislator or manufacturer; but it is no more an argument against a revenue system than would be the counter-charge that the reduction or removal of duties is a corrupt gift to importers and the agents of foreign producers.

Even when a surplus exists in the treasury, the plea that it should be exhausted by such a remission of charges as will promote importations into a market already fully supplied, is subject to the latter imputation. The proper adjustment of a tariff is a task for statesmen, but is no more difficult than other tasks imposed upon them. The problems of government are none of them simple. The highest qualities of the wisest men have been called into use to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare." In the United States the nearest approximation has been made to surmounting the difficulties; and in our century of experience the tariff has aided in that result, and can be judged by its fruits.

While, therefore, we collect the tribute—take for Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's—our Government has the privilege—and it is a duty imposed by the highest morality—to levy the tribute so that the money shall ring with the beatitudes of well-paid labor, of happy homes, of industrial progress, and of a nation complete in its own production.

ELLIS H. ROBERTS.



## THE USES OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

IN attempting to point out some of the uses of political parties, we shall make no comparison as to their relative merits, nor shall we trace their origin, nor the various changes which they have undergone; it being our object not to vindicate any party or party measure, but rather to meet the common objection that the influence of party politics is demoralizing both to the Government and the masses.

Admitting that the very terms, rings, caucuses, and political conventions, have an unpleasant flavor, suggestive of trickery, rascality, the buying and selling of votes, and the misleading of honest men into the support of demagogues, we claim that all these evils are attributable to the abuse and not the proper use of the political party, which, so far from meriting condemnation, must be recognized as furnishing important wheels in the machinery of our Government which the fathers of the republic failed to provide, and through whose agency alone the most obscure citizen can make his influence so felt as to become a potent factor in the Government.

And here, in the opening of this discussion, we cannot fail to be impressed with its importance when we consider the magnitude of these parties. We think of them as filling the land; with not a township, a school district, or a hamlet but contains their ardent admirers and firm supporters. These parties, as they stand confronting each other face to face, far outnumber any armies which were ever marshalled on the field of battle; each is composed of its millions of free voters, while each represents still other millions of women and children who feel hardly less interest in their success. But these parties are not less marvellous for their extent and the diffused power which permeates the masses, than for those agencies by which that power is concentrated and rendered effective. For these are organized bodies, and in their organizations they recognize the principle of civil liberty, which is simply the right of every man to his share and no more than his share in the Government; he is to bow to the will of the majority, and is to respect those rules and processes by which that will is ascertained. Here, then, in the

party drill which is so common, are to be found the training-schools in which men are fitted either to stand in the ranks as the uncompromising defenders of good government, or to execute the high and responsible duties of office if called to the same by their fellows. It is in these training-schools that men are taught how to work together and how to combine their influence; they are taught that submission is the first duty of the citizen, and that only those who, in obedience to rules and regulations, work in harmony with others can ever be safely intrusted with the exercise of power. And certainly the drill of these great parties, by which the millions of their adherents are brought into line and made to keep step, is a fact that challenges our admiration, and all the more so when we reflect that it is accomplished without the slightest compulsion. Think for a moment of the interest which culminates in those quadrennial nominating conventions in which these parties, through their representatives from every part of the nation, select their candidates for the highest honors in the gift of the people; think of the zeal of the various factions, which rises to a white heat as they urge the claims of their favorites—a zeal so intense in its antagonisms as to threaten the very disruption of the party; and yet, as the culminating point is reached and the one successful name is announced, how suddenly does this turbulent sea become calm, how quickly do these discordant notes change into one grand chorus of harmony. And shall we give no credit to agencies which, without coercion, exert such power to hold the selfish aspirations of men in check, and so concentrate their influence as to render it most effective?

Just at this point, however, we cannot leave unnoticed the agency of the political press, with its postal and telegraphic facilities, in promoting and securing this unity of action to which allusion has been made. We yield our preferences in order to work in unison, just because we have been counselling together through these marvellous agencies by which mind is brought in contact with mind, though widely separated all over these States and Territories. Our Congress, our State Legislatures, and even our political conventions, are not the only deliberative bodies which we have; the people themselves, with the daily newspaper in hand, constitute the great and controlling deliberative body of this country. At every fireside, through means of the press, questions as to governmental policy are thought out, discussed, and settled. Thus it is that public opinion is wrought out into a definite and reliable form. No man can un-

derstand American politics without recognizing the leadership of the press. These editorial chairs have come to be thrones of power and centres of influence such as the fathers of the republic could never have dreamed of. They have far more to do in moulding public opinion and shaping the policy of the Government than all the debates of Congress and other legislative bodies. But while they are acknowledged leaders, it is a gratifying fact that they cannot lead the people arbitrarily, but are themselves controlled by the public opinion which crystallizes under their influence.

And the surprising tenacity with which people cling to the party of their choice very naturally directs attention to the historical character of these parties. They are like large trees which cannot be blown over, because of the years during which their roots have been striking deeply into the earth. To become acquainted with either of the great political parties of our land, you must trace its roots all through those agitations which have followed each other ever since the birth of the nation, and, especially, through that great conflict which almost accomplished its disruption. These parties are what they are to-day because they are not a fabrication, but a growth, and therefore they cannot be taken apart and built up at will. When we look at our mighty rivers and discover the large tributaries which flow into them, we say that they are where they are and their channels are broad and deep just because they have been obliged to dispose of the waters which have come to them through these tributaries; in like manner do we account for the deep channels which these political parties have cut for themselves, and for the direction of the current which flows through the same, by tracing them back to those tributaries of influence in the past which have served to define their policy and impart to them the character which they now possess. We cannot forget that, in the years gone by, men who have held high positions in our national councils, and who have been respected for their disinterested patriotism, have counted it an honor to enroll their names as members of these parties. The men of to-day are not a little indebted to those worthy names as furnishing a constant incentive to high-minded patriotism, and as constant a rebuke to everything that is narrow, selfish, and base. It is thus that the best elements of any one age contribute more to the stream of party influence than those of the opposite character. The former live because they are cherished, while the latter die, being ignored.

Added to this we must not fail to notice how largely this party zeal is the fruit of an ancestral spirit, and as such is worthy of being cherished. We are accustomed to honor the children when we see them following in the footsteps of their fathers and glorying in their party banner because their fathers once carried the same. Instead of calling this a blind enthusiasm we rather commend it as a noble sentiment, and discover in it a conservative power for good.

And this leads to the more general remark that the free institutions with which we, as a nation, have been blessed for more than a century have furnished the very soil out of which these political parties have sprung, and by which they have been nourished. To conclude, therefore, that they are corrupt and demoralizing, would be a very sad reflection upon the life of this republic. If, in the political history of our land, we discover only a deteriorating tendency, then are we forced to the conclusion that the spirit of liberty has fallen in her own home, and is being destroyed by her own children. For the masses who compose these political parties, with all their virtues and with all their faults, are the product of the mighty and prolonged effort which has been made to establish upon these shores a republic which shall be a model to the world. In all our criticisms of these parties, and they deserve very severe criticism, let us never forget that they are composed of none other than those who, with not less pride than the ancient Roman, can each exclaim: "I am an American citizen!"

We now invite attention to the relation which these parties sustain to the Government; and we do this not with the design of engaging in a general discussion of the subject, but, rather, that we may point out our indebtedness to these parties for the protection which they afford us as the bulwarks of civil liberty. Not that either party is so pure that it could be trusted alone, but our safety is to be traced to the attitude of antagonism in which we find them always arrayed toward each other. And if to any it seems impossible that this party hostility can be any other than an unmixed evil, if to any the organizing of clubs, wearing of uniforms, and marching with torch-lights to the beat of the drum shall seem like a menace to our liberties, let it be borne in mind that all this is but the arousing of two giants to watch each other. Each is saying to the other, "Thus far mayest thou come, but no farther." Each is ready to take advantage of the other's mistakes, and each is promising a better Government than the other has afforded. Neither could be



trusted without the other to watch it; and to suppose a collusion between the two would be to suppose ourselves at the mercy of an oligarchy. For there are bad men enough in either party to wreck the Government if they could; but they are powerless to accomplish their purposes outside of party lines, and they are almost as powerless within party lines, by reason of the check which these parties hold upon each other. We know that the accuracy with which the planets move in their orbits is the result of counteracting forces; we know also, in mechanism, that the great strength of the arch is the result of the opposition of its two sides. These two facts may serve to illustrate how the reliability and accuracy of the great departments of our Government, which, like the planets, move in separate orbits, are secured by counteracting political forces; or, to change the figure, how the amazing strength of our free institutions is seen when we think of our Government as an arch composed of these two political parties which fill the land, each leaning against the other. And if these illustrations have force, then the importance of keeping these parties as nearly equal as possible must be obvious; for the whole arch is weakened just in proportion as you weaken either side. Those, therefore, who call for the destruction of either or both of our present parties expose their ignorance as to the important service they are rendering. If it be said that they are corrupt, it is quite obvious that they are not more corrupt than are the people who compose them. And should they be abandoned, and other parties organized in their places, unworthy and unscrupulous men could not be kept out—they would be sure to push themselves to the front, if possible. In other words, the vicious element of society cannot be eliminated by any manœuvring. But an arch may be reconstructed, section by section, without demolishing the structure; and so a party may be readjusted to meet new issues, while all the time it does better work in sustaining the interests of the Government. The lessons of history are proof that parties themselves do change, and, indeed, are very quick to conform to a popular demand. The sudden abandonment of a political party is analogous to revolution in a Government, warrantable only in extreme emergencies.

This view of the case is also very suggestive as to the value of an opposition party when thrown out of power. We often think of it as laid aside until it shall again be invited to assume control. But this is far from the proper measure of its value. It is needed

incessantly as a check to undue legislation, which is one of our greatest dangers; while often, in positive work, and in shaping the future policy of the Government, it exerts hardly less influence than the dominant party.

But, interesting as is this view of the relation of the political party to the Government, we claim for it even a still higher value, when we consider its direct relation to the masses of the people as an educational power. We have already directed attention to the fact of its furnishing training-schools for those who are called to the exercise of power, and also that it is itself the outgrowth of our free institutions; the additional point which we now adduce is that it stimulates the masses to think and study, and educates them to a better appreciation of their privileges.

When we deplore existing corruptions, and question the expediency of permitting foreigners so soon to vote, and regard it as a mistake that the freedmen were endowed with the right of suffrage, we do not consider how difficult a problem has been given our nation to solve; which is nothing less than the assimilating of these heterogeneous peoples to American usages and American ideas. The question before us is not how the descendants of the Puritans, holding similar views respecting religion and government, shall furnish for themselves the pleasantest homes, and live with the least annoyance, but the far greater question is, What shall we do with these people who worship other gods, and have every variety of opinion as to morals and government? And the only reply to this question is, We must either Americanize them, or they will destroy us. We cannot afford to repel them, and thus throw them into a class by themselves; but we must welcome them, we must win them; and this we must do by introducing them to the same rights and privileges which we ourselves enjoy. And this is just what the political party, compelled by self-interest, has ever been forward to do; and, in so doing, has reached clear down to the very bottom of society and brought up the lower classes, which have been neglected, oppressed, and abused; brought them up into the light and pure air of our free institutions—a kind of sub-soiling process, which is not less important in the interests of civilization than in successful agriculture. With our fastidious notions we have given but little credit for this kind of work, and have called it demagogism, just because too largely it has been inspired by unworthy motives. And yet the fact remains, that our great political parties have laid right hold of

these heterogeneous masses, and have done more in this work of assimilation than any other one agency that can be named. Nor should we underrate this as an educational work because it recognizes neither text-book nor class-room; any influence that awakens a man to new life, so that he respects his own manhood, and feels that no man, not even a king, has a right to tread upon him, is in the best sense educational. And we know that this is just the influence that the political party exerts in securing recruits. Indeed, it goes further than this; it impresses each man with a sense of personal responsibility, and seeks to make him feel that there is a place in the party which no one can fill but himself.

There is an educational influence, also, in those party agencies which bring men together; mind is brought in contact with mind. Men are called upon to think, to discriminate, to answer objections, and to invent means for the attainment of given ends; and, when brought thus closely together, each feels the magnetic current which runs through the entire party. An additional point, showing its educational power, is the sense of proprietorship which is fostered by this party spirit, making the man to feel that he not only belongs to the party, but that the party belongs to him—a proprietorship which renders him solicitous that his party shall fulfil its pledges in the matter of honest legislation; and no man can exercise this care and feel this solicitude without being more of a man than he otherwise would be.

The danger of giving the right of suffrage to the illiterate classes is usually exaggerated; first, for the reason that even among the educated only a portion are to be found who have so comprehended the questions at issue, in any given election, as to vote independently; all others simply follow what they regard as the better judgment of those who have studied these questions; and this is precisely what the illiterate voter does. But, again, the illiterate, as a class, are impotent for harm to the Government, except through the agency of political parties, and we have already seen the powerlessness of parties to do us harm by reason of the check which they have upon each other. We concede that illiteracy is a serious obstacle to good government, and therefore rejoice in the power of the ballot, when placed in the hand of an ignorant man, to wake him up to a new life and nobler aspirations, while it is his passport to the political party which immediately helps him in securing his rights. A man who was asked whether he did not think the playing of children upon his lawn injured the grass, replied that he did,

but that he failed to see that it injured the children; a reply not inapplicable to the question before us.

But the powerlessness of the illiterate, as a class, to harm us, so long as we are protected by these political parties, at once suggests the still wider application of this same principle, as furnishing a corrective for all those combinations which may threaten the perpetuity of our free institutions. We are not fearing that a Cæsar or a Napoleon will capture the Government by the sword, and establish a military despotism, for the reason that the tastes of the people are agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing, rather than military; but fears are entertained lest our vast moneyed corporations shall come to be a power greater than the Government itself. The fathers of the republic very carefully guarded the rights of the smaller against encroachments by the larger States; but we have lost sight of that danger in the far greater one that threatens us, from our railroad, telegraphic, manufacturing, and other corporations, which, unrestricted even by State boundaries, have become truly national, both in extent and influence. But, while the power of these corporations is incalculable, and their heartlessness proverbial, we must not forget that their self-interest holds them largely in restraint. First, for the reason that capital is very sensitive to any governmental disturbance, it can ill afford to invite anarchy; and second, it is the true ally of the laboring classes; those classes must be conciliated in order to its own promotion and highest prosperity. Still, after making all these allowances, it cannot be denied that capitalists have tampered with our legislation, that money has corrupted the ballot-box, and that these monopolies are a constant menace to our liberties. A true self-interest does not always control these corporations, for the reason that they are blinded by their greed. And the point which we wish to make is that our large and thoroughly organized political parties are needed to protect us from these abuses; they alone are competent for this work. Were we divided into a dozen political factions, these moneyed interests would rule us with a rod of iron. But, it may be objected, do not these moneyed interests even now corrupt our present political parties? We answer, yes; but they cannot control them, for the reason that neither party can afford the reputation of being the special friend of the capitalist. Both alike offer the largest facilities for the laboring classes to organize a successful resistance to all such encroachments of power.



Again, the different nations of the Old World represented on these shores might give us untold trouble by making this their battle-ground. We might find clan meeting clan, were it not for the power of these political parties to neutralize these antagonisms by dividing the clans. Happily for us, neither party takes all of any one nationality, and therefore old issues and old feuds must be forsaken.

The same is true of sectional interests and those divisions which spring from the same. Our territory is very broad, and different classes of people live in different sections, representing civilizations so diverse that what is esteemed noble and honorable in one section is sometimes regarded as mean and degrading in another. Our true policy, as a nation, is not to permit such interests to crystallize by themselves and squarely to clash; and therefore we discover the serviceableness of these parties whose platforms are broad enough to invite men from every section, and thus prevent section from being arrayed against section, as was the case in our civil war, which was itself the result of the disruption of the parties of that day.

For a similar reason we may rejoice that our parties are large enough to prevent our cities, which are attaining marvellous dimensions, from exercising such control over the rural populations as has characterized the cities of the Old World. We want no such centres of power, with the corrupt influences which usually gather in the same.

But of all the combinations which may endanger the republic those of a religious character are the most to be dreaded. No student of history can contemplate the possibility of a religious war without a shudder. No tongue can describe the amount or degree of human suffering which has resulted from the attempt to propagate religion by coercion. The relation which these political parties sustain, therefore, to the great religious and moral movements which agitate the public mind is suggestive of questions replete with interest, and demanding patient study and nice discrimination. Happily for us, our Constitution and laws proclaim religious liberty, which is in perfect harmony with the spirit of a pure Christianity. Both alike warn us against using this liberty as a cloak of maliciousness—it being a liberty to think as we please but not always to act as we please—a liberty which is so restricted as to prevent one man from making his religion to interfere with that of another man. Our policy as a nation is, therefore, at war with every religion which does

not recognize this cardinal principle. Again, the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of our institutions agree in recognizing a complete separation between Church and State. These are coördinate institutions—both have been ordained of God, and each is amenable to him directly, while neither is amenable to him through the other. Whatever of religious restraint is imposed by the Government upon its subjects is done for its own sake, and not for the sake of the Church; its own health and prosperity being conditioned upon its adherence to the principles of the Decalogue promulgated from Sinai. Because the Government is non-sectarian it is not godless. The State, however, has no right to interfere with the Church, nor the Church with the State. The two, in their relation to the same God, have separate functions, and are clothed with very different powers. To the one, God has handed the sword, with the instruction that the magistrate shall not bear it in vain; while to the other he has said, "Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." The one compels, while the other persuades—the one applies its force outwardly, while the other sets up its kingdom in the heart, and thus purifies the very fountain of moral action. With such very obvious distinctions, it must be equally obvious that our true policy, as a people, will be found in a very strict observance of these lines of demarcation. The Church should never attempt to wage its battles upon ground belonging to the civil power. All it can ask of the Government is simple protection. In its own department it wields a power incomparably greater than that of the sword. In view of these distinctions we may greatly rejoice, as we study the composition of our political parties, to find that they so largely disregard all Church lines, and that men belonging to these various denominations, with equally good standing in the same Church, are intensely at variance in their political views. This is as it should be. We want no Protestant party as opposed to a Romish party; we want no one religious denomination to mass itself in either party for the purpose of seizing the reins of Government in its own interests; and should it accomplish such an end, it would only be to its own injury. All our interests, both religious and civil, are best subserved by having the churches themselves divided in politics. When a Protestant and Romanist find themselves standing shoulder to shoulder in the same political party and working zealously for its advancement, they will become better acquainted with each other, and as a result will lose

much of that bitterness which is the fruit of ignorance and bigotry. Thus it is that the very churches themselves are compelled to give credit to the political parties for having fostered that spirit of catholicity which has become so prevalent in our land, and which is the pride of every true American. Similar considerations should restrain us from inviting those extreme moral issues upon the arena of politics which will tend to drive all the dissipated and lawless classes into a party by themselves. Our true policy is to divide their forces. They are capable of inflicting incalculable harm. As with the increase of wealth and luxury these criminal classes are on the increase, they suggest some of the most difficult problems for our statesmen to solve. The virtuous portion of society must restrain them, and this can be accomplished far better through party affiliations than through party antagonisms.

It is the narrow view of politics which disgusts us; while it is only by these broader views that we rise to a comprehension of the importance of the political party as an indispensable factor in the administration of our Government, and discover in the honorable partisan the qualities of the true patriot.

## ASTRONOMICAL PHOTOGRAPHY.

It now looks as if the art of astronomical observation were likely, within a very short time, to undergo some such metamorphosis as occurred in connection with the invention of the telescope.

Old methods, and to some extent old subjects, of investigation are being either superseded or degraded from their former importance as the progress of events puts us in position to attack the old problems in new ways, or opens access to others before unassailable.

Probably it would be too much to say that the instruments of "the new astronomy," the camera, the spectroscope, and the bolometer, either or all of them, can possibly increase the range and power of astronomical research as did the telescope. But their effect is already so powerful that a transformation of the science is going on before our eyes, fairly comparable, in kind, at least, with that which occurred in Galileo's time. Fifty years ago the main strength of astronomical investigation converged upon the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies; the meridian circle and micrometer were the principal instruments, and the theoretical astronomer confined his discussions to the equations of motion.

Observations and work of this sort no longer occupy the same proportion of time and thought as formerly. Questions relating to the physical phenomena of the heavenly bodies, to their temperature and brilliance, their chemical constitution, and the condition of the matter of which they are composed, are now under examination. Some of them have already received their answers, others offer a more or less certain hope of solution, while others yet hold out sullenly and unyieldingly. But it is certainly not too much to say that inquiries of this sort receive to-day fully as great an expenditure of labor, time, and thought as the older work of position-observation, and they are pursued with even a heartier zest.

Among the newer methods of astronomy, photography just now occupies the most conspicuous place. The advances that have been made in its processes, and the results obtained by means of it within the last decade, and especially within the last two or three years, are simply wonderful. Perhaps, too, we on this side of the ocean may



be permitted to regard the subject with a warmer interest, because the early history and development of astronomical photography have been so largely American. There is no question that the names of the elder Draper, Bond, and Rutherford will always stand conspicuous among those of its earliest successful promoters.

Of course, the application of photography to astronomy is self-suggestive; and, as a matter of fact, when Arago, on August 19, 1839, announced to the French Academy of Sciences the great invention of Daguerre, he coupled with his announcement proposals to use the new art in obtaining pictures of the moon, and also for the purpose of getting more complete delineations of the solar spectrum than can be made in any other way. But the natural difficulties of a new invention greatly delayed the realization of his ideas, so that, excepting a single daguerreotype of the sun, made by Fizeau and Foucault in 1845 (doubtless the first one ever taken), no astronomical photographs appear to have been made in France for nearly twenty years; and very little has been done there in this line until within the last year or two, when, with a bound, the Henry brothers have made good their place in the very fore-front of the advance.

In 1840, Dr. J. W. Draper, of New York, who immediately took up the new subject of research, obtained a daguerreotype of the moon; imperfect, indeed, but quite enough to demonstrate the feasibility of making good pictures with proper appliances. Within a few years he also made the first, and excellent, daguerreotypes of the solar spectrum.

In 1850, the first star-photographs, and the first really valuable photographs of the moon, were made by Bond, at Cambridge. One of these pictures of the moon, exhibited at the Great London Exhibition of 1851, and afterwards at Paris, excited much interest, and stimulated De La Rue, of London, to take up the matter. He constructed for himself an admirable reflecting telescope, with the necessary subsidiary apparatus, and, using the then new collodion process, he soon produced lunar photographs much better than Bond's, which had been made with an instrument not specially adapted to photography.

In 1857 Bond resumed the subject of stellar photography, and made an extensive series of photographs of the double star Mizar, which he discussed in a number of valuable papers, now classical. Our space will not permit a full account of the history of the subject. It must suffice merely to mention certain things, viz., the photo-

graphic telescope of Rutherford, made in 1864, and the fine series of photographs of sun, moon, and stellar clusters which he produced with it, some of which, for beauty and sharpness, remain still unsurpassed, if not unrivalled; the work of Gould upon southern star clusters, between 1872 and 1882, and, during the same period, the work of Huggins and Henry Draper upon stellar spectra; the introduction of the gelatine dry process in 1876, relieving astronomers from their previous hampering time-limitations in the exposure of their plates; the Transit of Venus operations in 1874 and 1882, and the photographs of the nebula of Orion, by Henry Draper and Common. Within the last three years we have the remarkable star-chart and other work of the Henry brothers, in France; of Common, Roberts, and others, in England; of Vogel, in Germany; of Gill, in South Africa, and of Pickering, in the United States. Newest and most admirable of all are the simply amazing photographs of stellar spectra obtained by the latter observer at Cambridge within the last month or two.

It is hardly necessary to point out the peculiar advantages of photographic over ocular observation. When the end aimed at is the delineation of an object, as, for instance, of the moon's surface or a group of sun-spots, the photographic plate will in a few minutes do what the most skilful artist would require hours to accomplish; and in some respects do it much better, because it has no bias or prejudice, and cannot be taken in by any optical illusions. Nor could an artist with any reasonable amount of labor so accurately represent small details and delicate shades, such as constitute the peculiarities of a nebula or comet.

Another advantage comes in also: with the eye no fainter objects can be seen after long gazing than at first—there is no accumulation of effect; but as the exposure of a photographic plate is prolonged the action continually increases, so that, one after the other, objects successively fainter and fainter make their impression on the film. Probably there is some limit: it is likely that some definite brilliance is necessary to *initiate* the action, which then goes on as long as the exposure continues, or until all the available sensitive material is exhausted. But this limit, if it really exists, has never yet been found; and with the plates now in use (which are certainly more than a hundred times as sensitive as the daguerreotype) an exposure of an hour or more brings out stars and nebulae entirely invisible to the eye with the same telescope.

On the other hand (for there is always an opposite page to every

credit account of this sort), the photographic plate cannot, as the artist can, select the favorable moments of perfect vision; the ultimate image is the sum and integration of all the momentary images, with all the imperfections caused by the atmospheric and other disturbances which have taken place during the whole exposure. Then, too, the exposure which is just right for one set of details in the picture is likely to be wrong for others. For instance, in Mr. Common's wonderful photographs of the nebula of Orion, which show most exquisitely, far beyond the rivalry of any human hand, the filmy details of its fainter portions, the brighter regions are entirely overdone, and the brilliant stars, which to the eye are sparkling jewels, are represented on the plate by gross flat white blotches, without beauty or meaning.

In observations where the purpose is to secure a determination of the relative positions of a group of stars or other objects, the photograph enables the astronomer to secure, in an hour or two, and that permanently, data which by the old methods it would take him months or even years to accumulate. For many purposes the picture thus obtained is itself all the record needed. For others, it is true, the taking of the picture is only the beginning of the work, and the data it supplies can only be utilized by subsequent measurements as elaborate as those that otherwise would have been made upon the stars themselves. In such cases photography actually increases the total labor to be accomplished, and, perhaps, slightly diminishes its ultimate accuracy, since the star-images on the plate can never constitute an absolutely correct and undistorted representation of the sky. But even then the priceless advantage is gained that only an hour or so of the whole work requires night and a clear sky; the rest can be done at any time; and this far more than counterbalances the disadvantage that the photograph has inserted an additional step between the heavens and the astronomer's final results.

The apparatus used in photography bears, almost of course, a close analogy to the eye. The sensitive film corresponds to the retina, the optical system of mirrors or lenses answers to the lens and humors of the eyeball, and the mechanical arrangements of tube, mounting, and clock-work to the muscular system which directs the vision upon the object.

The telescopes used are of two kinds, each with its own advantages and countervailing limitations.

The *reflector* is much the simpler and less expensive; it consists

essentially of a concave mirror which is turned toward the object, and forms in front of itself an aerial inverted image. To get the sensitive plate to this image, the plate must either be somehow supported in front of the mirror, or else a second small reflector must be used in order to throw the rays out to one side, as in the Newtonian telescope, or to send them back through a hole in the centre of the speculum, as in the Cassegrainian and other forms. In any case, the central portion of the speculum is rendered useless.

In the *refractor*, on the other hand, the image is formed by a combination of lenses which, together, constitute the "object-glass" or "objective."

When we compare the two kinds of instrument we find that each has its own great advantages; it remains for the future to give us an instrument which shall combine their excellencies and be free from their defects.

In favor of the reflector we find, in the first place, the possibility of making it of much larger size than the refractor. Lord Rosse's reflector, by far the largest telescope ever built, is six feet in diameter; another of five feet diameter is now under construction, and several of three and four feet aperture are in daily use. The largest existing refractor (that at Pulkowa) has a diameter of only thirty inches; the great Lick telescope, however, which will probably be completed within the current year, its object-glass having been finished some months ago, has an aperture of thirty-six inches. In the reflector the light does not penetrate the substance of the speculum, and so there is comparatively little difficulty with the material. In the case of the lens, *through* which the rays must pass, it is of the first importance that the glass be perfectly homogeneous and free from all veins and streaks. The production of such disks of glass of large size is a matter of the gravest difficulty and great expense, the process being in part a secret one. It required four years and nearly a score of abortive trials to obtain the two disks for the Lick object-glass. Then, again, the speculum has but one surface to be worked, while an object-glass has at least four, more usually six, if adapted to photography, and sometimes eight. Finally, and this is really its most important superiority, a mirror acts alike upon rays of every color; to speak technically, it is perfectly achromatic, which is not true of any object-glass ever made as yet. A reflector, when its mirror is truly figured and absolutely undistorted, *ought* to give



photographic images superior to those obtained with a refractor. In fact, it seldom gives images as good.

In the first place, any error of workmanship in the figure of the reflecting surface is about three times as injurious to the image as a similar error in the figuring of a lens. In the next place, and most important, any flexure or distortion of the mirror, by its own weight or from other causes, damages the image, not three times only, but almost incalculably more than the same distortion of a lens. A mirror is so unreasonably sensitive in this respect, that slight differences of temperature and inequalities of support, which would not in the least affect a lens, totally ruin its performance. There are still other minor objections to the reflector: the diffraction effects, due to the arms that support the plate or the secondary mirror, if one is used, injure the image; the surface of the speculum is very liable to tarnish; since the mirror will not put up with the least squeezing to hold it fast, it is very difficult to make a reflector follow a star truly by clock-work; finally, the diameter of its available field of view is not more than one and a half or two degrees, while that of a four-lens photographic objective may easily be made five or six degrees.

As regards convenience, permanence, accurate definition under ordinary circumstances, and the extent of its undistorted field, the refractor has largely the advantage, and *for a given size* it also furnishes more light. Of course, it costs much more than a reflector of equal power, and it has the one capital, and so far irremediable, defect that it is not strictly achromatic. In the case of the ordinary telescope, designed to *look* through, the rays which are most effective in vision (the yellow, green, and light blue) are brought very nearly to one focus, with a variation not exceeding one-tenth of an inch in a focal length of ten or twelve feet. But the extreme red rays reach their focus about three-tenths of an inch farther from the lens, and the extreme violet rays, the very ones most efficient in photography, deviate more than twice that amount from the visual focus. Such a telescope is almost worthless for photography, giving only blurred and hazy images. The defect cannot be entirely removed by any combination of materials now at opticians' disposal; but there is reason to hope that the time may come, and that pretty soon, when we shall have some new kinds of glass which will work together more satisfactorily than our present "flint" and "crown." The recent researches of Professor Abbe, of Jena, under the auspices of the

German Government, have resulted already in the production of such glass in pieces large enough for microscope objectives, though not yet in quantity sufficient for lenses of any considerable size.

With our present available materials it is necessary for a photographic object-glass either to make the lenses of such curves that the so-called actinic rays shall be brought closely to one focus, while the visually effective rays are allowed to go wild, or else to add to the two lenses of an ordinary objective a third lens, specially figured for the purpose, and called a photographic corrector. The 11¼-inch glass with which Mr. Rutherford made his first successful photographs, and the 13½-inch lens of the Henry brothers' instrument, are on this plan—worthless for *seeing*; on the other hand, the beautiful 11-inch lens used by Henry Draper in his later photographic work, and now in Professor Pickering's hands, at Cambridge, has a third lens "corrector." The great Lick telescope is also to be fitted with a corrector, provided a suitable disk can be obtained to replace the one which burst upon the grinding tool last summer. But the recent death of the elder Feil, in Paris, makes it somewhat uncertain how long the delay will be.

We have spoken of the possibility of obtaining new kinds of glass which will give by their combination lenses more nearly achromatic. A measure of relief is also possible in another way. It is not impossible that some new medium may be discovered, which will be as sensitive to the yellow and green rays as the salts of silver, now in use, are to the violet rays. With plates of this kind any objective which performs well visually would also make good photographs. Vogel, of Potsdam, is understood to be at work along this line, and it is announced that he can now obtain good photographs of star-groups with an ordinary telescope. The gelatine film is treated with eosin to render it sensitive to the visual rays, and very likely a screen glass of some kind is interposed to cut off the other rays which would act injuriously.

We must not omit to notice a curious and interesting device of Zenger's. He exposes in the telescope a *phosphorescent* plate, which, under the action of light, behaves like the luminous clock-faces with which every one is familiar. When the plate is taken out, every star-image will, of course, show itself as a shining point. He lays this phosphorescent plate upon a sensitive photographic film, face down, until the phosphorescent images have impressed themselves upon the photographic plate, which may then be developed in the usual way.

It is, perhaps, not impossible that the brilliant green and yellow rays, which are almost entirely ineffective in our present photography, may thus be made operative, and so enable us to get impressions of objects fainter than we could reach by the ordinary process.

The astronomer must watch the star-image continuously by means of a powerful "finder," attached solidly to the photographic telescope, and keep the star accurately in place by an occasional touch on the tangent screws. In exposures of an hour or more the strain is very serious. When the object is near the meridian, and when, as in making the picture of a nebula or a general star-chart, the extremest accuracy is not required, the personal attendance may be dispensed with for the most part, provided the clock-work is brought under the electric control of a standard timepiece. In some cases it is even best to make the clock run purposely too fast or too slow, so that the stars will leave "trails" upon the plate, which can be utilized better than the round images in determinations of the brilliance, or so-called "magnitude," of the stars.

Astronomical photographs may be broadly divided into two classes: those in which the end is to produce a *picture* of the object, thus preserving an authentic and permanent record of its appearance; and those which are made for purposes of *measurement and the determination of precise numerical data*.

Among the photographs of the first class we enumerate the following:

1. *Photographs of the solar surface.*

The most noticeable of these are the beautiful pictures made by Rutherford about 1870, which were the first to bring out the details of sun-spots and the granulation of the photosphere, and the remarkable plates produced by Janssen at Meudon, some ten years later. These, the last important astronomical photographs made by the wet-plate process, have never been equalled in the amount and minuteness of structure which they show.

We have some doubts whether to classify here, or in the other general division, the extensive series of sun photographs made during the past twenty years at Kew, Wilna, Dehra-Dun, and other stations, the object of which is to furnish a complete and continuous record of the spots on the solar surface. It is much to be regretted that we have no such series in America. The work is, to be sure, rather laborious and time-consuming, and not specially attractive; but so important that it ought not to be neglected.

### 2. *Photographs of the solar corona.*

Eclipses furnish the only opportunities for these. The earliest worth mentioning was that obtained in 1869 by Professor Winlock's party in Kentucky. The pictures made in India in 1871 by the party sent out by Lord Lindsay (now Earl of Crawford and Balcarres), are, on the whole, the finest yet produced. Every eclipse, however, now gives us a series of great beauty and interest.

We do not forget, and must not fail to mention, the strenuous attempts made in 1883 by Huggins, in England, and later, under his inspiration, by Woods and Gill, in Switzerland, and at the Cape of Good Hope, to obtain photographs of the corona without an eclipse. Certain ghostly forms, certainly extremely coronal in their aspect, appear upon the plates, and opinion is still divided on the question of their genuineness. The negative evidence, however, obtained during the eclipse of last August, bears against them rather heavily, though by no means conclusively.

### 3. *Photographs of the solar prominences.*

These were first made at the eclipse of 1860, both by De La Rue and Secchi, and then furnished the first demonstration of the true solar character of these beautiful objects. At the eclipses of 1868 and 1869 they were still better photographed, but since then have been rather neglected at eclipses, in favor of the corona, because they can now be observed at any time by means of the spectroscope, as the corona cannot. Perhaps the writer may be permitted to mention a partially successful attempt of his own to photograph them with the spectroscope in 1870.

Distinct impressions were obtained by means of the bright line known as Hydrogen  $\gamma$ , near G. But as this line is broad and hazy in its nature (not sharp, like the C line), it was found impossible to get good definition, and the two or three pictures then made have no special value, except as being the only ones ever produced. Whenever we obtain plates which are reasonably sensitive to red light, it may be worth while to repeat the experiment by means of the C line.

### 4. *Photographs of the moon.*

We have already referred to the first daguerreotype of our satellite, made at Cambridge in 1850, and the collodion pictures of De La Rue, a few years later. In 1860, Henry Draper took up the subject again, and with a 15½-inch reflector of his own construction he produced photographs which bear enlarging into a magnificent picture fifty



inches in diameter, the largest ever made. In perfection of definition, however, it was soon somewhat surpassed by the familiar and still unrivalled photographs of Rutherford, in 1865 and 1866. The pictures made with the great four-foot reflector at Melbourne deserve mention here, some of which are said to be excellent; so, also, should those which Professor Pritchard, at Oxford, has been making with De La Rue's old instrument, though these have been taken chiefly with reference to the determination of the moon's physical libration.

Within the last year or two, also, the Henry brothers have made some fine pictures of limited regions of the lunar surface. It must be admitted, however, that no photographs yet made equal the views of the moon that one gets with a good telescope in good weather.

#### 5. *Planetary photography.*

Comparatively little has yet been done in this line. Several of the earlier investigators, De La Rue especially, succeeded in getting impressions from some of these bodies, but nothing to compare with ocular views. In 1879, Mr. Common, with his three-foot reflector, obtained some photographs of Jupiter, showing the belts and red spot very clearly, as well as the satellites; and a little later Henry Draper did the same thing. The most remarkable planetary photographs yet made, however, are those of Saturn, obtained in 1885, by the Henry brothers. They used their  $13\frac{1}{2}$ -inch instrument, with a secondary magnifier, enlarging the image about eleven times. The negatives show clearly the division of the ring, the inner dusky ring, the belts upon the planet's surface, and all the eight satellites excepting Mimas. Their photographs of Neptune show its satellite in all parts of its orbit; and according to Admiral Mouchez, this is the only way in which the Paris Observatory can observe that satellite, as the establishment does not possess a telescope which will show it *visually* when nearest the planet. When Mr. Common's five-foot telescope is finished, it is understood that one of the first things to be done with it is to make a thorough photographic campaign in search of undiscovered satellites, which very likely exist in the systems of Saturn and Neptune, and, possibly, elsewhere.

The swift axial rotation of the planets makes it improbable that photography will be of much advantage in the study of their surface markings, since it renders long exposures inadmissible for that purpose. The aspect changes too rapidly. But photography can be utilized most effectively in the search for new planets, or in the iden-

tification of lost ones (at least half a dozen old asteroids are now running wild). In the course of an hour the motion of one of the minor planets is usually quite perceptible, so that if one of them happens to be caught upon a long exposure plate (as Juno actually was not long ago), it is instantly recognizable as a short *streak*, in striking contrast with the round images of the stars. Of course, an ultra-Neptunian planet could hardly be picked up in this way, because it moves too slowly.

#### 6. *Photographs of comets.*

Success with comets was first gained in 1881, when the great comet of that year was photographed by both Common and Draper, and its *spectrum* by Draper and Huggins. The still more brilliant comet of 1882 was photographed by all these gentlemen, and also by many others—notably by Janssen, at Meudon, and Gill, at the Cape of Good Hope. Some of the pictures are really very fine. The photographs of the Egyptian eclipse of 1882 show a little comet just outside the limits of the sun's corona. A few months ago Von Gothard, in Hungary, obtained a good series of pictures of Barnard's comet, the last of which were made after the comet had ceased to be visible to the naked eye. It is quite on the cards that we may soon hear of the *discovery* of comets in connection with some of the photographic star-chart work.

#### 7. *The photography of nebulae.*

In the delineation of these objects the photographic method finds one of its most interesting and important applications, success in which requires the most sensitive plates, the most perfect apparatus, and the most skilful and patient operation. The first triumph of the kind was that of Henry Draper, who, in 1880 and 1881, with his 11-inch telescope, obtained a number of very beautiful negatives of the nebula of Orion.

Very soon after, still finer plates—to which we have before alluded—were obtained by Mr. Common, who had a great advantage in the vastly superior light of his huge reflector. His pictures show the necessity of trusting, for the correct representation of such an object, not to any single photograph, but to a series of them, taken with exposures of different duration. We have good reason to hope that by the comparison of such photographs, made at intervals of several years, it may be possible to detect with certainty the changes that are probably going on in these mysterious clouds.

In 1885, the Henry brothers, in photographing the Pleiades, on

November 16,\* discovered a new nebula, invisible to any but the very largest known telescopes. The Pulkowa glass alone shows it fairly well. It is attached like a little shred of shining mist to the bright star Maia, in the same way that the well-known nebulosity around Merope adheres to that star. Later photographs by numerous operators show that similar still fainter clouds belong to Alcyone and Electra, while the other stars of the group have no such appendages.

We pass now to consider briefly the use of photography *as a "method of precision,"* i. e., as supplying the means of obtaining accurate numerical data concerning the heavenly bodies.

### 1. *Eclipse photographs.*

One of the very earliest applications of the art was the attempt to determine with accuracy the relative positions of the sun and moon at the time of an eclipse, by photographs of its partial phase. In 1851 such pictures were taken at Koenigsburg by Berkowski; and in 1854 by Professor Bartlett at West Point, and Professor Alexander at Ogdensburg. Similar photographs have been made at numerous eclipses since then, but in no case have the results been found satisfactory, on account of what is known as photographic irradiation.

### 2. *The Transit of Venus photographs.*

We omit discussion of these because we cannot afford the space to treat the subject adequately, and because it has already been so abundantly written about. We content ourselves with barely mentioning in passing that the *measurements* of the several thousand plates taken by the various parties in 1874 and 1882 are at last all made, and the data obtained are now under discussion. We ought to receive the final results very soon. It seems probable, from rumors which creep out, that the ultimate outcome of the photographic work will prove less satisfactory than was anticipated when the expeditions were organized, and perhaps less trustworthy than the results of the heliometer observations made by the German parties; but this may be premature.

### 3. *Photographic star-charts.*

Probably the most important of all the applications of astro-

---

\* It is only just to mention that a photograph made at Cambridge with the 8-inch camera of the Bache fund, some two weeks earlier, shows this Maia nebula distinctly. In exhibiting the plate to the National Academy of Sciences at Albany on November 11, Professor Pickering pointed out to us the "wing" attached to the star; but as only a single plate was shown it was at the time the general impression that the mark was due to a slight defect in the gelatine film.

nomical photography is to the rapid making of accurate and unimpeachable maps of the heavens. It is now beyond question entirely feasible, by the combined action of a number of observatories, to obtain perfect charts of all the 60,000,000 or 80,000,000 of stars visible in our present telescopes. While these pages are passing through the press a congress of astronomers is sitting in Paris, to settle upon the plans for such a campaign. The questions to be dealt with are numerous and important, relating to the instruments and methods to be employed, the scale of the finished charts, and the degree of precision to be aimed at. The principal debate is likely to be in regard to scale: shall we be contented with maps  $5^\circ$  or  $6^\circ$  square, or must we aim at maps only  $2^\circ$  or so on a side? On the first scale, less than 2,000 plates would cover the whole heavens; on the second, it would require about six times as many, and take a much longer time. For some purposes the  $5^\circ$  maps would be just as good as the others; but not by any means for all. The settlement of this question will carry with it most of the others. The large scale plates would give the *relative* places of all the stars upon them within one or two seconds of arc, and perhaps even more closely, if all possible precautions are taken to reduce to a minimum the effects of distortion of the image and differential refraction. For the *absolute* places of one or more stars on each plate we shall have to depend upon old-fashioned work with the meridian circle or some similar instrument. The degree of accuracy of the relative places depends, however, upon the assumption *that after the exposure of the plate the gelatine film experiences no displacement or distortion by the wetting and subsequent drying which are necessary in its development.* Experience shows that such displacement, when it occurs at all, is generally very slight; but there are instances where it has undoubtedly happened, and it is not at present possible to feel absolutely easy about it.

#### 4. *Double-stars, star groups and clusters, and stellar parallax.*

While the photographic processes can do but little to help us in the determination of absolute positions, it now seems certain to give us the most accurate possible means of determining the angular distances and directions between stars very near each other. Micro-metric measurements with the telescope are liable to many serious errors, which can be avoided in measures made and repeated as often and variously as one desires, upon a photographic plate. We have already referred to the first double-star photographs by Bond, in 1857, and now the work seems likely to be taken up by many, as being



comparatively easy and very interesting. During the past year Professor Pritchard, of Oxford, impressed by the apparent precision of such measures, has suggested the possibility of determining stellar parallaxes in this way, and has actually carried out the idea by a series of some 200 photographs of  $\beta$  Cygni and the surrounding stars, made at different seasons. Excepting six or seven plates, the rest all concur in giving a parallax value closely agreeing with the mean of all the previous determinations. On the discordant plates the film undoubtedly "slipped," as their measures disagreed with the others, and between themselves, by more than a second of arc.

#### 5. *Photography in meridian observations.*

In 1849 Faye suggested that photography might be utilized for observations of this sort; but it is only recently that any serious attempt has been made to put the idea in practice. Pickering, in this country, Löhse, in Germany, and Von Gothard, in Hungary, have all been experimenting with more or less success. Pickering considers that the probable error of the transit of a star across a wire, observed photographically, is only a little more than half that of a visual observation, *and is free from personal equation*. But the serious application of this method belongs to the future; it may quite possibly work as great a revolution in the art of meridian observation as was brought about by the introduction of the electric break-circuit and the chronograph.

#### 6. *Photographic photometry.*

The subject of stellar photometry has occupied much attention lately, and it is found that excellent results can be obtained by photography—with the reservation that, in the case of colored stars, there will be considerable, but perfectly understood, differences between the results of photography and visual observation.

The size of the image of a star on a photographic star-chart is found to depend upon its brightness. The image of a bright star is no *blacker* in the negative than that of a faint one, but it is *larger* (a singular fact which we cannot now stop to discuss), and so, by measuring these images on such a plate, we can determine the relative brightness of all the stars upon it. Mr. Espin, of Liverpool, and Professor Pickering, in this country, have especially busied themselves with this subject.

#### 7. *The photography of stellar spectra.*

We pass over the great subject of the photography of the solar spectrum, and the work of Huggins and Draper upon the spectra of

comets and nebulæ, in order to devote to stellar spectra the little space remaining to us. The first attempt to photograph a star-spectrum was made by Huggins in 1863. He obtained an unquestionable impression of the spectrum of Sirius, but it showed no lines. In 1872, Henry Draper, using his twenty-eight-inch reflector (the only great reflector in this country), which he had constructed specially for the purpose, obtained a spectrum of the same star showing fairly well its characteristic lines. During the next ten years both Huggins and Draper worked at the subject more or less, so that in 1882 they were making plates upon which the spectrum of a star was a little strip about a sixteenth of an inch wide, and half an inch or so long, showing, in the case of certain stars, as many as thirty or forty lines distinctly countable under the microscope. They used spectroscopes of the ordinary chemical type, with one or two prisms, the instrument being so attached to the telescope that the star-image could be focussed on the slit. A cylindrical lens gave the necessary width to the spectrum.

In 1884 and 1885 Pickering resumed the subject in a new way. Following the original plan of Fraunhofer, he dispensed with the slit, by placing a prism in front of the object-glass of the camera. He thus gets on the sensitive plate, instead of the ordinary round image of a star, a long streak, which is really its spectrum, but too narrow to be of any use; to give it width it is only necessary to set the refracting edge of the prism East and West, and let the clock run slightly too slow or fast, during the hour or so of exposure. The result is a beautiful spectrum, in which, if the evening is a good one, all the lines are as sharply defined as in a negative taken by a slit spectroscope. Nor is this all: in the old way only one star could be taken at a time; by the new method we can get upon the same plate, with one exposure, the spectra of all the stars within an area of two or three degrees square. The spectrum chart of the Pleiades, made in 1885, shows, for instance, more than fifty, running down to stars of the tenth magnitude. We have not room to detail all the numerous and interesting steps which have led up to the latest successes; but as the result, Mrs. Draper, in order to secure the most effective development of the subject which so deeply interested her husband, has transferred to Cambridge his telescopes, furnished the necessary mountings and prisms, and provided a fund, the annual income of which is to be devoted to researches on stellar spectra. The eleven-inch telescope is now provided with a train of four huge prisms, each nearly eleven

inches square and with a refracting angle of ten to fifteen degrees; these are set in a suitable frame in front of the object-glass, and with this apparatus spectra are now obtained which are nearly four inches long (between F and H) and show hundreds of lines. These bear enlargement well; as we write we have lying before us an eight by ten-inch plate on which are two strips from the spectrum of  $\beta$  Geminorum, each strip two and a half inches wide and about eight inches long, containing about one-third of the original spectrum. On one of them we count easily 152 distinct and well-marked lines. It seems almost incredible that the feeble, twinkling light of a star could make such a picture—but there it is.

The great objection to the method of the slitless spectroscope has hitherto been the difficulty of effecting a satisfactory comparison with a standard spectrum, in order to identify the lines observed, or determine their displacement by motions in the line of sight. If this difficulty can be overcome (and recent experiments of Pickering's, with certain absorbing media interposed in front of the sensitive plate, give good reason to hope that it can be), it is certain that the photographic method will entirely supersede all visual observations for such purposes; especially if we ever succeed in getting plates reasonably sensitive to the green, red, and yellow rays.

And now, what next? It will be easier to predict after the event. But it is clear enough that the art of astronomical observation is not yet stereotyped beyond improvement, nor is the science dead and fossilized. It is as active and vigorous as ever, growing and expanding in all directions, with a future before it, the glory of which no man can prefigure. As Professor Pritchard has said, it is a secure belief "to rest assured that, as long as the human mind retains its experience of the past and its incentives to curiosity in respect of the future, no true art can ever culminate, and no true science can become effete."

CHARLES A. YOUNG.

## THE NEW LITERATURE OF NORWAY AND DENMARK.

THE geographical reach of thought in the present century is rapidly extending, and its national boundaries are breaking down. The world literature of which Goethe dreamed is in a fair way to become something more than a dream. A book with vitality in it can now make its way from Paris to London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, or from St. Petersburg to Berlin, London, and Paris. A scientific author, if his importance warrants it, has the world for his audience. His voice reaches without effort to the antipodes. In the domain of exact knowledge, humanity is becoming a great brotherhood, each member of which speaks with ease to all the rest, and is listened to without prejudice. In the domain of the plastic and pictorial arts the same universality of comprehension secures for whatever is excellent a swift or a tardy recognition; and to the phenomenal in music the fashionable public of Europe and America listen with as much eagerness as the beasts of the field did of old to the strains of Orpheus, and with about as much intelligence.

It is not to be denied that the existence of these conditions indicates a great progress, and is a matter of congratulation. In our enthusiasm at the triumphs of the age we are, however, apt to forget that there are yet some forms of thought which enjoy but imperfect facilities for travelling. In the case of an imaginative book, which depends for its artistic effect upon the form in which its thought is cast, the linguistic barrier is yet a formidable one. The mere intellectual contents may be transmitted from one language to another; but the subtlest effects of style—the intangible spirit which gives the book its individual charm—is likely to escape in the process of transmission. A poem is apt to be a poem only in the language in which it was originally written; or, if it be yet a poem when translated, it has borrowed such a metamorphosing complexion from the alien sounds as to be practically not the same. And what is true of a poem is also true, though in a lesser degree, of the better class of novels, which are something more than entertaining narratives—which appeal to the reader, not by ingenious intricacies of plot, but by strength and felicity of diction. Turgeneff used to say that



it made him ill to read the English translations of his works; because "the translator seemed to be engaged in a perpetual effort to tune his style down to the commonplace." The work of his translators was, in this respect, typical of its kind, being based upon the fundamental inability of a small mind to interpret a great mind, without involuntarily belittling it. I see in this incontrovertible circumstance one of the chief reasons why Scandinavian authors have rarely gained recognition abroad, and why those who have been translated have generally had but an ephemeral success. There are but three exceptions to this rule—one from each nationality—viz., Esayas Tegnér, Hans Christian Andersen, and Björnstjerne Björnson.

The geographical position of the Scandinavian countries, on the outskirts, as it were, of the civilized world, has also had much to do in isolating them from the intellectual life of Europe. The great movements of European thought reached Norway, Sweden, and Denmark only as a belated ground-swell—when the storm had spent its force, and its wholesome, purifying vigor had been half exhausted. This doom of being too late—of being a quarter of a century behind the time—has deprived much of the Scandinavian literature of its vitality, and its claim upon the attention of the world. Where the form seemed old-fashioned, nobody took much interest in the contents. A certain innocent conceit which is characteristic of small nations (and with which the great ones can scarcely be expected to sympathize), has also been one of the barriers to recognition. The Scandinavians counted it a merit to hold aloof from the great social and religious questions which agitated the rest of the world, and regarded it as a proof of the perfection of their social system, that no such agitations arose among them to disturb the harmonious slumber of Church and State. In this favored corner, up under the Pole, lived these three idyllic nations in a dream of their pristine glory, unshaken by the storms which raged upon the great arena of the world. Was not this a matter of congratulation? There was scarcely a Norwegian, Swede, or Dane, thirty years ago, who was not taught to thank God, indirectly, because he was not an Englishman or a Frenchman or a German. The school, the pulpit, and the home united in inculcating gratitude for the intellectual isolation. That this condition of things has been changed during the last thirty years is due chiefly to two men—Björnstjerne Björnson and Henrik Ibsen. They have broken down the wall of

national prejudice and conceit which excluded Scandinavia from the intellectual life of the world; they have transferred the intellectual centre of the North from Denmark to Norway; they have opened a new era in Scandinavian literature.

The charge of being old-fashioned can only apply to a literature which borrows its spirit or form from some period or school which is out of date. It does not apply to a book which takes up fresh matter, and casts it in a hitherto unused form. That was what Björnson did thirty years ago, when he published *Synnöve Solbakken*. He plunged boldly into the thick of the life he knew, and with utter disregard of the traditional style, told his story in the language which his nature demanded. The salient features of this style were, perhaps, more or less consciously modelled after that of the ancient Norse sagas; but it appeared so new, so strong, so miraculously appropriate, that the question whence it came seemed of no consequence. Björnson had somehow managed to charge it with his own individuality, and thereby made it his own. By one sublime stroke of genius he there found the connecting link between Norway's present and her past. He founded Norwegian literature securely upon its only possible foundation. He taught the public "to look upon the peasant in the light of the saga, and to read the saga in the light of the peasant." It became suddenly plain to every one that this nervous vigor, this self-restraint and laconic brevity, were national characteristics which yet existed, and must constitute the elements of a national style. The discursive sentimentality of Mauritz Hansen and the Danish school of novelists began to appear foreign, if not ridiculous, and the saga became, through Björnson's modernization, the model of literary expression.

The impulse was now given to draw the national life, both present and past, within the domain of literature. In Denmark and Sweden this tendency was not a new one, having been inaugurated by such men as Oehlenschläger and Tegnér. But the former saw the old heroic life through the dim spectacles of German romanticism, and the latter (great though his merits were) was an academical rhetorician, who sought in the sagas universal types of heroism. Even where they caught the true spirit of the North, they were powerless to represent it, except in glimpses, and with a borrowed foreign drapery. Oehlenschläger's "Helge," with all his untamable savagery, is yet in the core of his being more than half modern, and Tegnér's "Frithjof" is the idealized type of the manhood of the

North, and consciously remodelled to suit modern readers. In a certain sense, every poet is forced to make similar adaptations; not as a concession to his readers, but on account of the impossibility of putting one's self wholly *en rapport* with a remote antiquity. As Goethe says, "the book of the past is to us a book with seven seals." Even such a *tour de force* as Flaubert's *Salamambo*, which plunges, perhaps, deeper into the heart of an alien barbarism than any historical romance before or since, strikes one as arbitrarily fantastic and far from convincing. We may collect swords, shields, domestic utensils, and all sorts of antiquarian bric-à-brac, and with diligent care reconstruct the external life of a past age, but when it comes to the question of reanimating it—of setting it in natural and unstudied motion—then, somehow, "the spiritual link is found to be wanting":

" *Encheiresin* naturae nennt es die Chemie,  
Spottet sich selbst und weiss nicht wie."

To every one who approaches the past from the outside, for purposes of study or reproduction, this limitation is insurmountable. There is, however, such a thing as approaching the past from the inside. Björnson became the interpreter of the Norse antiquity, not by virtue of antiquarian investigation, but through an innate affinity and swift poetical insight. He grew up among Norwegian peasants, with their strong peculiarities of speech and demeanor, and during his earliest youth thought, spoke, and felt as they did. Education and travel enabled him to view himself and his early surroundings objectively, and when he read the sagas he saw the grand historical panorama vividly unroll before his eyes. By virtue of his blood and descent he had a deep sympathy with this life and an equally deep comprehension. The types of the present interpreted to him the types of the past; the spiritual spark which animated them and made their actions rational he found in his own heart—in his own grand and half-primitive personality. Besides his novels, *Synnöve Solbakken*, *Arne*, *A Happy Boy*, *The Fisher Maiden*, and *The Bridal March*, which all deal with the life of the present, he published an epic, *Arnulfot Gelline*, and a series of national dramas which approach as near to historical realism as is consistent with their poetical worth in the present. They approach nearer than either Tegnér or Oehlenschläger had done—or, I should prefer to say, the difference is one of kind, rather than of degree—but lapse yet occasionally into modern speech and sentiment. A most striking instance of such a

lapse is the scene in *Sigurd Slembe*, where Helga and Frakark reason concerning immortality, and the chieftains, who afterward torture Sigurd to death with the most harrowing cruelty, talk about "vocations" and "fundamental law." As the Danish critic Brandes has wittily said, men who are capable of expressing themselves in such language do not torture their enemy; they slander him.

Like all strong souls, Björnson has growth in him. He has not one favorite theme which he varies *ad infinitum*. His titanic strength demands continually new tasks, new difficulties, new achievements. The national enthusiasm, with the labor which it prompted, sufficed to fill his youth and early manhood; then came a period of barrenness, during which the old fountains of song refused to flow. What he had done once, twice, thrice—and done well—he felt no impulse to repeat. He began to be conscious of the limitations of his culture, and with characteristic energy undertook to place himself abreast of the intellectual life of Europe. Darwin revolutionized his views of Nature and her life; Spencer and John Stuart Mill revealed to him the underlying principle of social development in the human struggle for existence. As a result of the intellectual renovation which he underwent about and after his fortieth year, appeared a series of dramas, wholly modern in character, dealing with the social and political problems of the present day. Among these *The Editor*, *Bankruptcy*, *The King*, *The New System*, *A Glove*, and *Love and Geography* are the most conspicuous. Several novels with similar tendencies have discussed the deeper problems of heredity, and the matrimonial relation in some of its most delicate phases. In his great novel, *Flags in City and Harbor*, he reveals an artistic power, united with a knowledge of psychological and physiological phenomena, which is fairly startling. Take, in connection with this, his restless and epoch-making activity as a political writer and orator, his warfare against "the personal devil," which brought him the undying hatred of the clergy, and his unwearied propaganda as a journalist for progress in all departments of social life, and an idea may be derived of the manysidedness of his spirit and the weight and power of his personality. To quote Brandes once more, he unites in his own being the two chief types of his race—the scald and the chieftain. He is a partisan, a clansman, but the first in his clan by virtue of size and inborn superiority. Physically and intellectually he looms a head above all his people. When he enters a room he



brings with him a gust of all the breezy freshness and poetry of the North. He is hated and beloved as few. To see him is to love him or to fear him. And fear in petty souls lies close to hate. It is not in every century that a nation has the power to bring forth so great a man. Many a Norseman might have reason to say to-day what Schiller wrote to Goethe, when the latter had published *Wilhelm Meister*: "I esteem myself happy in being your contemporary."

The poet whose name is usually coupled with that of Björnson is Henrik Ibsen. They say "Björnson and Ibsen" in Norway as in Germany they say "Goethe and Schiller." There is, however, less affinity of soul between the two Norsemen than there was between the Germans. In some respects, Ibsen furnishes a direct antithesis to his cheerful and popular rival. He is a self-contained, solitary nature, which seeks poetry, not in the flash of light and play of color, but in conflicts of souls and social forces. He is essentially a delver in the deeps. The surface glow and glitter of life are to him interesting as symptoms of hidden disease, and to point out and diagnose social and national diseases has, so far, been his chief function. It must be admitted that he has done this with a penetration and power which belong only to genius; and as a nation given (as every nation is) to sanguine self-congratulation and conceit is in constant need of such a monitor, it would be invidious to draw the contrast between him and Björnson to the detriment of the one or the other. It is inevitable that the genial, all-embracing hospitality of Björnson's mind and his warm sense of kinship and coherence with his race should gain him more personal friends and admirers than would be attracted to the keen and not very approachable Ibsen, who, like a critical eagle, soars above reality, watching it with his penetrating gaze, and pouncing down upon every sham he discovers, picking it to pieces with dispassionate cruelty. The world turned, at an early period of his life, a hostile countenance toward him, and he was not the man to smile back and humbly sue for favors. It was a hard battle he fought, first with poverty, then with indifference, and at last with stupidity and national prejudice. A weaker man would have succumbed to so formidable an opposition. He would have compromised, or given up the battle. He would have made concessions to the Philistine who, in the end, makes a poet's popularity, because he is the people. It shows the stuff of which Ibsen is made, that no such considerations had weight with him. He desired success, of course; but meant to wrest it, at the point of his martial

pen, from a conquered world. This he actually did, when, in 1866, his dramatic poem, *Brand*, at one stroke made him famous. All his neglected historical dramas—*The Warriors of Helgoland*, *Mistress Inger of Oestraat*, *The Wassail at Solhaug*, and *The Pretenders*—were then fished out of oblivion, and their rare worth was readily conceded. The Norse Philistine—for whom Ibsen has as profound a contempt as Matthew Arnold has for his English *confrère*—now took a fine revenge upon his detractor. He granted him, through his representatives in *Storthing* assembled, an annual salary of \$600, so as to enable him to continue his poetical warfare. No equivalent was demanded for this salary in any kind of State service; not even a sinecure was invented to save appearances. The money was frankly granted as a “poet’s salary.”\*

The poem, *Brand*, which thus extorted recognition of Ibsen’s claim to public attention, belongs to the same literary genus as Goethe’s *Faust*. Although in dramatic form, it is not written with any reference to the stage. It is a powerful and deeply poetical exposition of a philosophical thesis. It might be described as a dramatization of the categorical imperative. It is a stern and uncompromising soul protesting against the paltry spirit of compromise which pervades all human institutions, nay, of which human institutions are the visible embodiments. The hero is a clergyman to whom the law of God is absolute, admitting of no bargaining or modification. He endeavors himself to live in accordance with this absolute standard, and forces it upon his relatives and parishioners. The result is tragic. The path of the apostle of truth is strewn with wreck and ruin. Society is made by average men for average men, and its institutions reflect the principles of average men. The Christian law stands above society as an ideal demand, which, in the present social condition, can be but approximately and imperfectly enforced; and he who, like Brand, should undertake to enforce it would destroy either himself or society.

In Ibsen’s later works, which are all in dramatic form, he has, from “Brand’s” point of view, as the prophet of the absolute, passed judgment upon social institutions, and found them wanting. In *The Comedy of Love*, *A Doll Home*, and *Ghosts*, he exposes with scathing satire the ills to which the individual is ex-

---

\* Björnson and Jonas Lie are the recipients of similar life stipends, and Alexander Kielland receives 1,600 kroner as compensation for loss occasioned by absence of international copyright.

posed in the social compact of marriage; in *Peer Gynt* he belabors his nation, as it seems to me, with unnecessary severity, for its national vanity. It is, of course, an easy thing to prove that national pride is one of the very conditions of a nation's existence; but that need not necessarily militate against the justice of Ibsen's satire. All social phenomena, be they never so reprehensible, have or have had some good reason for being, and become injurious only when they become antiquated; when the average ethical sentiment has outgrown them. Whether the time is at hand when patriotism, even of the loud and aggressive sort, shall cease to subserve any useful purpose, I shall not undertake to decide. The circumstance that the Norsemen are a small nation and a poor one is, sociologically considered, rather a reason why their patriotism should be (as in fact it is) loud and aggressive. Similar objections might easily be urged against all of Ibsen's satirical dramas. Provided they are intended to destroy what they criticise, and offering, as they do, no glimpse of a substitute for what they destroy, it might be said that they are based upon a misanthropical and pessimistic philosophy of life; that they take no account of historical development; that, however interesting they are as daring experiments of thought, they are too remote from the popular consciousness to accomplish what it must be the object of all satire to accomplish, viz., the amelioration of the conditions which it criticises. In reply to this, Ibsen's admirers (among whom I am one of the warmest) would say that so rare a soul, holding up an impossible standard of truth and honor—crying like a strong and lonely voice in the wilderness, and hearing but its own echo returning—is to be valued, not by any direct influence it may be shown to have on manners and morals, but as a stimulator of wholesome humility, who, by showing us the immeasurable distance which yet separates us from perfection, may damp the self-congratulatory spirit which pervades the age.

To a younger generation than Björnson and Ibsen belongs the novelist, Jonas Lie, who, about the year 1871, attracted notice by a beautiful and imaginative tale entitled *The Visionary*. In spite of its brevity, it was a book of such rare power that, once read, it was never forgotten. The morbid and abnormal conditions of soul, fostered by the grandeur and terror of external nature and the unfavorable climatic conditions of the extreme North, were depicted with a poetic intensity, and yet with a minute attention to realistic details, which seemed to warrant the announcement that a new poet

had appeared. Such an announcement is naturally an affair of much greater consequence in Norway, where the literary life is yet comparatively new, and the number of authors small, than it would be in England or France, where every year a new crop of writers appears, and the majority of them again vanish. In Norway, a notable book, by a new native author, or by one of the great old ones, was, fifteen years ago, something of an event, and was discussed as such by the press and that part of the public which had the leisure for intellectual interests. That a different state of things prevails now is due to the fact that, since Björnson left the old idyllic track, and steamed into the debatable territory of "the social problem," the younger generation of writers has, one by one, followed him, and there is scarcely one of any consequence left in the idyllic pasture—except Jonas Lie; and he is not really left, for he sits on the fence, with one leg in the idyl and the other in the modern problem. The good, conservative people, who keep watch over the mediæval antiquities in Church and State, naturally discountenance the literature with a modern tendency, and sigh for the dear old, harmless idyls, which there soon will be nobody left to supply. Thus there is at present strife and unrest in the Norwegian public as in Norwegian literature; and this is a most wholesome sign. For the former idyllic repose meant isolation from the intellectual life of Europe, and consequent stagnation and decay.

The most conspicuous among the younger generation of authors who fight with martial pens the battles of the new age, is Alexander Kielland. He has an advantage over his *confrères* in possessing a certain Gallic *esprit* which rarely belongs to the equipment of a Scandinavian novelist. His books, *Garman and Worse*, *Skipper Worse*, *Laboring People*, *Elsie*, *Fortuna*, and *Poison*, all deal in a most vigorous and refreshing way with social problems which have a more or less universal application. His latest novelette, *Snow*, wages war against the obscurantism and intolerance which constitute the essence of the official orthodoxy of Norway. The story has scarcely any action, but the four characters which it contains are triumphs of literary portrait-painting.

Since Mr. Kielland \* made his *début*, half a dozen younger writers have attracted more or less attention, and some of them have produced

---

\* All the novels of Kielland have been published in book form in German translations, and some have appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. Two or three have also been translated into Dutch.



very creditable work. They are, however, chiefly remarkable as showing how rapidly European thought and modern views of life are gaining entrance into Norway. The old Romantic School, which but a short while ago seemed in modest bloom, is as dead as if it had never lived; and the iconoclastic spirit of modern science is finding manifold utterance in prose and verse. One of the chief representatives of this spirit is Björnson's friend, the historian, Prof. J. E. Sars, whose activity as a writer on political and politico-economical subjects is showing its influence upon the younger generation. Arne Garborg's recently published novel, *Peasant Students*, is a manifesto of the most advanced radicalism, and though not without power as a piece of social satire, is lame and colorless as a story. Didrik Grönvold's *The Storstad Boys* is a much cleverer and more artistically effective novel, though it seems to have attracted far less attention. Besides these, Dilling, Poulsen, and Konrad Dahl have gained public favor by novelettes, dealing skilfully with various phases of the national life. A great loss to Norwegian literature was the death of Kristian Elster, whose *Dangerous People* and *Sun-Clouds* revealed a talent closely akin to that of Kielland, and scarcely less promising.

It will be seen that an independent and intellectual life did not exist in Norway until the present century was on the shady side of its meridian. Previous to the separation from Denmark (1814) there was no literary life at all. Norwegian authors, like Holberg and Wessel, lived in Denmark, because the conditions for intellectual activity were there more favorable, and their writings became Danish literature. After the establishment of Norwegian independence, patriotic declamation of the most extravagant sort became the fashion, and a multitude of ephemeral singers lifted up their crude and hearty voices, like the chorus to a drinking-song at a carousal. Then came Welhaven and Wergeland, and fought the battle between cosmopolitan and exclusive "Norse-Norse" patriotism, and aroused for the first time a conflict with wide intellectual bearings. They were, however, both under the influence of foreign models, and were both equally remote from an intimate knowledge of the life of their people. They were Norwegian poets, because their interests were Norse, and because they wrote in the Norwegian language. But where their subjects were Norse, they showed most plainly, in spite of their patriotic temper, how little they knew the deeper characteristics of their nationality. It was not until Björnson and Ibsen began to write that Norway discovered her own soul, and that

accordingly a distinctly Norse literature began to exist. About the same time the late-Romantic authors in Denmark, who had lived on the traditions of Oehlenschläger's time and the æsthetical doctrines of J. L. Heiberg, were passing away or showing symptoms of decline, and the two countries began from that moment to change rôles. Denmark, which had been the medium through which every European movement reached Norway, was now, in return, influenced by her former province. The Sleswick-Holstein war of 1866 and the consequent hostility to Germany cut off the intellectual intercourse between the two countries, which in the first half of the century had been very intimate, and as, for a while, no new ties were formed, the intellectual atmosphere became stagnant and the sporadic literary activity exhausted itself in feebly ringing the changes on worn-out themes. In the authors of this period, some of whom are yet alive, but unable to absorb new currents of thought, there seems to be precious little vitality. A conventional romanticist, H. F. Ewald, wrote and is still writing historical tales, in which costume as well as characters have the familiar old-fashioned cut, and Vilhelm Bergsøe produced ingeniously elaborate romances in which a good deal of genuine talent seemed to be groping for adequate form. In M. A. Goldschmidt, an admirable linguistic virtuoso, the manner was so finished as partly to compensate for the lack of vigor which the matter revealed. An infusion of new blood was here evidently needed—a reëstablishment of that circulation of thought which keeps the whole civilized world in vital conjunction and makes it akin. No country can cut itself off from this universal world-life without withering away like a diseased limb. The man who undertook to bring Denmark again *en rapport* with Europe was Georg Brandes, a disciple of Taine, and one of the most brilliant of contemporary critics. It was his book, *The Men of the Modern Transition*, which impelled me, some years ago, to make the acquaintance of the three authors who constitute whatever there is of promise in contemporary Danish literature, viz., Sophus Schandorph, Holger Drachmann, and J. P. Jacobsen. The last-named, unhappily, died about a year ago, and is therefore not, in the strictest sense, contemporary. But he is indispensable in characterizing the group.

Widely different as these three men are in almost everything, they have this in common, that they all show the influence of Brandes. That this influence has been direct and personal I am by no means sure. Mr. Jacobsen, who was a professional botanist, and translated

Darwin into Danish, no doubt, came by his "advanced views" at first hand. In the case of Schandorph it is more difficult to judge. He is an excellent linguist, and may have had access to the same sources from which Brandes has drawn his strength. Drachmann is so vacillating in his tendencies that he refuses to be permanently classified in any school of art or thought. Of the three, Schandorph seems altogether the maturest mind and furnishes the most finished and satisfactory work. In his novel *Without a Centre*, the reader feels himself at once face to face with an interesting and considerable personality. He has that sense of surprise and delighted expectation which only the masters of fiction are apt to evoke. It is a story of a Danish national type—the conversational artist. In no country in the world is there such a conversational fury as in Denmark. A people has, of course, to do something with its surplus energy; and as political action is interdicted to all, except a small clique of reactionary bureaucrats, there is nothing left to do but to talk—not politics, for that too is dangerous, but art, poetry, religion, in fact, everything except politics. At the time, however, when Albrecht, the hero of *Without a Centre*, plied his nimble tongue, the country had a more liberal Government, and a criticism of the Ministry was not yet high treason. But centuries of repression and the practical exclusion of the bourgeoisie from public life were undoubtedly the fundamental causes of this abnormal conversational activity. There is something soft and emotional in the character of the Danes, which distinguishes them from their Norwegian and Swedish kinsmen—an easily flowing lyrical vein which imparts a winning warmth and cordiality to their demeanor. Also in this respect Albrecht is typical, and the songs in which he gives vent to his lyrical moods have such a rapturous melody that they keep humming in the brain long after the reader has closed the book. It almost follows as a psychological necessity that a man so richly endowed with the gift of speech is feeble and halting in action. Like Turgeneff's "Rudin," who suffered from the same malady, he gains by the brilliancy and novelty of his thought the love of a noble young girl, who, taking his phrases at their face value, believes his heart to be as heroic as his tongue. Like him, too, he fails in the critical moment; nay, restrained by petty scruples, he even stays away from the rendezvous, and by his cowardice loses what by his eloquence he had won.

A second novel, *Common People*, which deals with low life in its most varied phases, shows the same admirable truthfulness and

exactness in the character drawing, the same refreshing humor and universal sympathy and comprehension. *The Story of Thomas Friis* undertakes to show, in the career of a Danish youth who is meant to be typical, the futility of the vainglorious imaginings with which the little nation has inflated itself to a size all out of proportion to its actual historic rôle. In *The Old Pharmacy* the necessity of facing the changed reality of the modern world, instead of desperately hugging an expiring past, is enforced in a series of vivid and vigorous pictures of provincial life. *The Forester's Children*, which is one of the latest of this author's novels, suffers by comparison with its predecessors, but is yet full of cleverness and smacks of the soil.

Mr. Schandorph vaguely reminds one of Zola. He does what Zola pretends to do, but fails to accomplish, unless humanity is viler in France than anywhere else in the civilized world. Schandorph's naturalism is not pathological; not in the nature of an autopsy or a diagnosis of disease. It is full-blooded and vigorous—not particularly squeamish—but always fresh and wholesome. Mr. Schandorph's shorter tales and sketches (*From the Province, Five Stories, Novelettes*) are of more unequal merit, but are all more or less strongly characterized by the qualities which fascinate in his novels. Of his poems I have not the space to speak, and can only regret that they are written in a language in which they will remain as hidden from the world as if they had been imprinted in cuneiform inscriptions upon Assyrian bricks.

J. P. Jacobsen, the second in the group to which I have referred, was a colorist of a very eminent type, both in prose and verse; but his talent lacked that free-flowing, spontaneous abundance—that charming air of improvisation—with which Schandorph captivates his reader, takes him into his confidence, and overwhelms him with entertainment. Jacobsen painted faces better than he did souls; or, rather, he did not seem to think the latter worth painting, unless they exhibited some abnormal mood or trait. There is something forced and morbid in his people—a lack of free movement and natural impulses. His principal work, *Mistress Marie Grubbe*, is a series of anxiously finished pictures, carefully executed in the minutest details, but failing somehow to make a complete impression. Each scene is so bewilderingly surcharged with color that, as in the case of a Gobelin tapestry, one has to be at a distance before one discovers the design. There is something almost wearisome in the far-fetched words with which he



piles up picturesque effects, returning every now and then to put in an extra touch—to tip a feather with light, to brighten the sheen of his satins, to emphasize the steely flashes of swords and armors. Yet, if one takes the time to linger over these unusual words and combinations of words, one is likely to find that they are strong and appropriate. All conventional shopwork he disdained to resort to; the traditional phrases for eyes, lips, and bosoms were discarded, not necessarily because they were bad, but because by much use they have lost their lustre. They have come to be mere sounds, and no longer call up vivid conceptions. An author who has the skill and the courage to undertake this repolishing and resharpening of the tools of language is, indeed, a public benefactor; but it requires the finest linguistic taste and discrimination to do it with success. Most authors are satisfied if they succeed in giving currency to one happy phrase involving a novel use of the language, or to an extremely limited number; I know of no one who has undertaken the renovation of his mother tongue on so extensive a scale as Jacobsen. To say that he has in most cases done it well is, therefore, high praise. *Mistress Marie Grubbe* is not, however, easy reading; and the author's novelettes, entitled *Mogens and Other Stories*, seem to be written, primarily, for literary connoisseurs, as their interest as mere stories is scarcely worth considering. They are, rather, essays in the art of saying things unusually and yet well. They do not seem to me, even in this respect, a success. There are single phrases that seem almost an inspiration; there are bits of description, particularly of flowers and moods of nature, which are masterly; but the studious avoidance of the commonplace imparts to the reader something of the strain under which the author has labored. He begins to feel the sympathetic weariness which often overcomes one while watching acrobatic feats.

In Jacobsen's third book, *Niels Lyhne*, we have again the story of a Danish Rudin—a nature with a multitude of scattered aspirations, squandering itself in brilliant talk and fantastic yearnings. It is the same coquetting with the "advanced" ideas of the age, the same lack of mental stamina, the same wretched surrender and failure. It is the complexion of a period which the author is here attempting to give, and he takes pains to emphasize its typical character. One is almost tempted to believe that Shakspeare, by a gift of happy divination, made his Prince of Denmark conform to this national type, though in his day it could not have been half as pronounced as

it is now. Whether the Dane of the sixteenth century was yet the eloquent mollusk which we are perpetually encountering in modern Danish fiction is a question which, at this distance, it is hard to decide. The type, of course, is universal, and is to be found in all countries. Only in the English race, on both sides of the Atlantic, it is comparatively rare. That a vigorous race like the Danish, confined, as it is in modern times, within a narrow arena of action (and forbidden to do anything on that), should have developed it to a rare perfection seems, as I have already remarked, almost a psychological necessity.

Holger Drachmann, in his capacity of lyricist, has also a strain of the Hamlet nature; although, in the case of a poet, whose verses are in themselves deeds, the assertion contains no reproach. I am not even sure that the Protean quality of Drachmann's verse—its frequent voicing of naturally conflicting tendencies—need be a matter of reproach. A poet has the right to sing in any key in which he can sing well; and Drachmann sings, as a rule, exceedingly well. But, like most people with a fine voice, he is tempted to sing too much; and it thus happens that verses of slipshod and hasty workmanship are to be found in his volumes. In his first book of *Poems*, which appeared fifteen years ago, he was a free oppositional lance, who carried on a melodious warfare against antiquated institutions and opinions, and gave a thrust here and there in behalf of socialists, communists, and all sorts of irregular characters. Since that time his radical, revolutionary sympathies have had time to cool, and in each succeeding volume the poet has appeared more sedate, conservative, *bourgeois*. In a later volume of poems this transformation is half symbolically indicated in the title: *Tempered Melodies*. Nor is it to be denied that his melodies have gained in beauty by this process of tempering. There is a wider range of feeling, greater charm of expression, and a deeper resonance. Half a dozen volumes of verse which he has published since (*Songs of the Ocean, Venezia, Vines and Roses, Youth in Verse and Song, Peder Tordenskjold, Deep Chords*) are of very unequal worth, but establish beyond question their author's right to be named among the few genuine poets of the latter half of the nineteenth century; nay, more than that, he belongs in the foremost rank of those who are yet surviving. His prose, on the other hand, seems aimless and chaotic, and is not stamped with any eminent characteristics. A volume of short stories, entitled *Wild and Tame*, partakes very much more of the latter adjective than of the

former. The first of the tales, *Inclined Planes*, is a discursive family chronicle, showing the decadence of a fishing village under the influence of city boarders. The second, *Love and Despatches*, inculcates a double moral, the usefulness of economy and the uselessness of mothers-in-law; and the third, *The Cutter Wild Duck*, is a shudderingly insipid composition about a village lion who got drunk on his birthday, fell overboard, and committed no end of follies. A recent volume of *Little Tales* is, indeed, so little as scarce to have any excuse for being. The stories have all more or less of a marine flavor; but the only one of them that has a sufficient *motif*, rationally developed, is one entitled *How the Pilot Got His Music Box*. The novel, *A Supernumerary*, is also an incredibly weak performance, badly constructed, and overloaded with chaotic incidents. So admirable a poet as Drachmann cannot afford to break down in prose the reputation which he has built up in verse.

It will be seen from the above résumé that, at the time when there is a dearth of songsters throughout the world, Scandinavia is rejoicing in a chorus out of which rise the voices of three or four soloists, full of individuality and strength. The vocation of these three or four is, broadly stated, to put the nineteenth century to music—to sing the new emotions and sympathies, evoked by the new problems of life.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

## A TOUCH OF SUBLIMITY.

### I.

MRS. FANWOOD was dusting her rare china upon a certain fine day, which was so glittering and balmy that the city seemed made for the enjoyment of life, not for business, greed, or broken idols.

"Good-by, Fanwood," she said to her husband, as he kissed her cheek, before starting off for his office. "I hope you'll not become bankrupt to-day; but there is a dangerous loveliness about everything this morning. Don't become a pauper, sir, before your return home."

"No, I promise to postpone that important step," Fanwood replied, smiling. "I have a reasonable hope that life is short enough to come out even with my luck. Not that I am anything but the luckiest man I know; still, everything has a brevity about it, unless it is objectionable. Good-by."

The parlor looked enchantingly, in its subdued glow, and a May breeze stirred the luxurious pansies in a box at the open window. Mrs. Fanwood prayed, as she stood looking around from one object to another (herself the prettiest of all), that eternity would take her and the house in charge, just as they were, and keep them so.

She heard the servant open the front door, and the murmuring of a deep voice, which became louder as its owner advanced toward the parlor. The curtain was pushed aside, and a vigorous young man strode in upon the dainty scene.

"Hullo, Cousin Amy! I am Torrey Fanwood." She sank into a chair, looking at him. Her heart beat heavily enough to shake the lace at her throat.

"You're very much surprised, aren't you?" he remarked, simply.

"Why did you not send us word?" she replied.

"I couldn't spend two cents so unnecessarily," said the young man, with a smile which flashed upon his face with remarkable suddenness, and throwing himself gracefully into a chair.

His large figure was shabbily dressed in a cloak with a long cape,



and he wore rusty shoes. His soft felt hat had a hole in it. But his face was rosy and genial and strong, with great eyebrows and lips.

"I never was so astonished in my life," Amy Fanwood said, quietly. "What induced you to come?"

"Oh, I had a number of reasons," he answered, looking around the room as if he owned it, but was glad to share its hospitality with his cousin. "But the most important subject of thought in my mind at present is, that of my making a living." He continued to look around the room.

This action touched Amy Fanwood to the quick, for it was evident that the boy felt he had a right to do as he pleased here. She opened her lips to say, "You might try to make it as a car-driver," for she was accustomed to being sarcastic; but she found herself afraid of him, and was silent for a moment.

"I hope you will succeed in accomplishing it," she then gravely remarked, as if he were to undergo a dangerous experiment for the cure of blindness.

"Well, I think I shall," said her cousin; and he closed his large mouth with a firmness which ought to have brought him a hundred dollars on the spot. "So I've come to have a talk with your husband," he resumed. "I thought I wouldn't be burdened with an enmity. Don't you think it better to let old grudges go?" He looked calmly at a "Madonna and Child" by Botticelli, with an air as if it were a purchase he had made when last in Italy.

"I am sorry that you thought there was any grudge," Amy replied. "Davie has never expressed ill-feeling, I am sure."

Torrey laughed loud and long, tossing his head from side to side on his broad shoulders.

"Why, Davie got the money," he said. "Why should he feel bitter?"

Amy became still more formal.

"You must not mention it," she replied.

"Not mention it! What do you mean, Amy? Why do you take this tone, pray? I'll not have it! I've forgiven your husband for getting his way about the property; and you seem to have enjoyed it pretty thoroughly, to look at your fine house."

Amy rose from her chair in a towering passion. It was not only because a country lout had come to insult her and her husband; but that he had the audacity to cow her by his physique and manner.

She could not speak, but her glance was enough to explain her state of mind to Torrey.

He sprang up, catching at his cloak picturesquely.

"Don't, Amy," he exclaimed; "don't be angry with me because you and Davie were in the wrong. It is for paltry wretches to hate a man when he fails in a struggle with them. I'll never speak of it again; I'm content to begin life as I am, and say no more. But it is I who overcome righteous anger, and try to believe that you did not fully realize what you were doing. In return, Davie must give me a few hints as to how to make a moderate living; and you must both meet me frankly on this ground of friendship."

"Your behavior is very arrogant," ejaculated the young matron, in a rasping tone, as she rose again, and took up her duster. "You should not have come. In your presence we can never forget that you assailed our honesty, and went to law against us. You had better—I am afraid I must use the most glaring frankness—you had better go away." She turned upon him, beautiful, and richly decked in flowing silk and lace, which should have struck awe into Torrey's ungarnished being, and she opened her lips to add scorching words. But his dark eyes in his white face transfixed her. She hesitated, and stuttered, "If Davie were to see you he would be very angry."

"I am much disappointed to have missed him," Torrey responded. "I shall be certain to meet him soon, however. Amy, I wish you would be more kind. It is not like a woman to reject good-fellowship so persistently. You look as if you could bite my head off!" Suddenly he held out his hand. "For the present, good-morning," he concluded.

He fascinated Amy; but, nevertheless, looked so shabby and useless that the leaning in his favor gave way to her old attitude of mind in regard to him, and she answered:

"You have been dead to us ever since that time, and you should remain so."

"I can't. The living aren't easily obliterated, except in asylums or prisons." He bowed solemnly, and turned, without looking at her again.

If he had looked at her she would have screamed.

Torrey went into the first drug-shop he could find, and searched in the directory for David Fanwood's business address. Then he swung his cloaked figure down Fifth Avenue, in the confident expectation of reaching the point indicated before he should become

tired of walking. The staircase leading to where David was to be found looked astonishingly dark and repulsive. Its marble steps seemed like dead lips. It happened that Fanwood had frequently increased his wealth by not overlooking the defencelessness of men and women within his reach. Torrey's heart misgave him as he mounted the livid steps. He knew that he would be a poor match for his cousin's methods of warfare, although he could not have defined just what they were. But David was a successful man who had cheated him; and was one of those persons who do not mind about other people's deaths the least in the world. Strangely enough, they have the chill of the grave about them. Torrey, however, did not give up his plans because he was privately afraid of them.

David Fanwood was almost as unpleasant to look at as his stairs. So Torrey thought, at least, and his dancing blood rapidly cooled. David was a young man of middle height, with a face of hard surface, and clear-cut features which had never fully developed. He had trained his countenance to be powerful and keen in spite of nature, who had now lost her interest in him. His small eyes were dark-brown sheaths of light, and the light remained half drawn, in readiness for attack. Over his whole immaculate person, and crowning his round head, there rested an air of intelligence which was his only excuse for being a villain; and one could not help desiring to forgive him, as a perfect thing of his kind. With his hands in his pockets he confronted Torrey, who had sent in his name.

"What brought you home?" he asked, swearing at him. There was a gray bloom over his smooth face which Torrey did not understand, especially as it soon gave place to a flush.

"I've come home to practise my profession," the young fellow said, good-humoredly. "I want to talk with you."

"You do? Well, you're surprising. I thought we were enemies."

"Then we had better pretend to be friends," replied Torrey, with a smile; for he knew a few things about the wicked world, in spite of his naïveté.

Daniel hesitated. Then he said:

"You're going back, of course. There's more engineering at Panama than we have here."

"I am homesick, and wish to remain awhile. Besides, I've got to start from here, at any rate, because it is my country. I have used my small allotment of money for preparation, and I must work.

Perhaps I shall one day find an island that needs a lighthouse, or something of that sort. Let us get into your private office."

During his cousin's reply David's countenance settled together like a fossil. He turned on his heel, and led the way to his room. At the door, he motioned Torrey in.

"Excuse me," he muttered; "I must give an order that can't wait." The door being closed again, he stood alone in the hall. "They have thought of strengthening the lighthouse!" he exclaimed, under his breath. He walked down the entry rapidly, stopped to recover himself, and returned slowly to the door, opened it, and rejoined Torrey.

"Well," he said, slapping him on the shoulder, "we must meet each other in the middle of the carpet. You've come to me for assistance, and I'll put you right into a paying place. I've hated you, Torrey. Now I'll do something else, for a change. Call it fair and square."

Torrey had risen, cheerfully, upon seeing David's altered manner.

"And I've hated you," he answered. "Don't mistake my meaning in coming to you. I think you were wholly wrong about the will. You said there was another, which set the matter tremendously agog. I had every reason to know there wasn't. But I no longer resent that injury. I shall not refer to it again."

David had fixed his gleaming eyes upon the youth, who was taller and broader than himself. Observing him more closely as he finished speaking, Torrey winced, as he would have done had David sworn his most fearful oath. He thought to himself that, decidedly, his cousin was of that element in the world which makes happiness an uncertain quantity.

"Sit down, sit down," said the prosperous man of business, querulously. "We'll call each other liars some other time; but now we have more important tongue-work to do." He emitted a long, somewhat affected, sigh. He filiped the seal on his watch-chain. In spite of his self-importance, the air of temporariness about him was alarming. It seemed as if he might cease to exist when his clothes lost their first freshness.

It was arranged that Torrey should begin by undertaking, with the other agents, the investigation of large losses by fire. This might lead to business in his particular line, which was that of civil engineering, as it would carry him about the country, and bring him into notice wherever he saw an opportunity. As he had just landed,



and was without lodgings, and would be glad to hoard what little cash he had by him (these being facts which David enumerated), he was invited to take up his residence at David's house.

Torrey smiled at this.

"Amy met me——"

"You were there?"

"Yes, just after you'd gone—met me with a most hostile show, and did not look as if she could ever change her mind."

"Perhaps not; but she will, and you'll never know it again when she does. That's all right."

"I thought you would listen to reason," Torrey said, pleasantly, rising to go. He held out his hand.

David's hands were in his pockets, which were as tight as manacles. He pulled out his left with difficulty, and then smoothed down his nose with it.

"By Jove!" he said, "your fist is too big, Torrey. I should never get out, if I tumbled in. *Au revoir.*"

David returned home as early in the afternoon as possible, in order to see his wife before Torrey should arrive with his trunk and his undesirableness. She was out, but her husband pounced upon her as soon as she came back, drew her into the parlor, and shut the doors. From his strange demeanor, Amy knew that the mainstay of their peace was threatened. That mainstay was not of a very respectable nature; on the contrary, it was a successful crime.

"My dear, this young man you saw to-day might make us a great deal of trouble, you know," he began. "Torrey came to the office, after leaving you."

"Loathsome wretch!" cried Amy, deep in her throat. "I thought that, when he had graduated, you were to find him employment abroad."

"He was homesick, and preferred to rush back at the first instant, though he owns no home, has no friends, and doesn't look like his countrymen. Amy," continued her husband, speaking in her ear, "there is something about him that instinctively makes me anxious, and I could have no surer warning. The only way to make him harmless is to absorb him. I am going to have him live with us, until I can get him to another country; or until—" David made a turn or two in front of his wife—"until nature comes to our aid."

She stood immovable, and evidently had no words to offer. Now she took off her bonnet, and sank into a chair.

"What's the matter?" demanded her husband.

"Oh, Davie," she said, shuddering, and looking away from him, "how could you?"

"What? Tell him to come here? It was the only feasible thing to do."

"Oh, I didn't mean that!" his wife groaned, bowing her head in the depths of shame.

"You saw it all, once," he answered. "Now that it happens to be getting a little threatening, you don't think it was the best move to have made. Thank goodness, I have, myself, a clear head, and know when I am in the right."

"But it has to be concealed, like a terrible sin!"

"Ha!" laughed David, shortly; "so one must conceal sleights of hand, or one's design in chess. The concealment is the only resemblance to sin; so pray be at rest."

"Davie! Can *he* ever have realized his condition?"

Her husband, with an oath, replied that he did not know; but that it was a good enough condition, at any rate. He then went up to his wife, and gently touched her hair, and kissed her pretty head.

"We played a little game, which did not happen to be chess, love. We believe in comfort, you know, and a life without a sequel, and as much power as we can get. And beyond that we do not believe anything. If we begin to dabble with other beliefs, we may get dazed, and lose some of the fun. As for me, I have only time enough to deal with life as it first presents itself to me. If I tried to fancy how it might present itself to me, I should resemble a monkey whose cocoanut is stolen from him, as he turns it round. You are afraid we did wrong; and I assure you that we were merely ingenious. Come, Amy; help me to pen up this calf for a little while."

She rose from her chair, clasping her hands, but without meeting his eyes.

"Of course I sha'n't fail you," she said, and then left the room. She immediately made arrangements for Torrey's visit, which was to begin at the dinner-hour.

## II.

It was not with the lightest mood in the world that the young engineer drove up to the Fanwood door, accompanied by his battered leather trunk, which had belonged to his grandfather, and which appeared to be the best friend he had in America. He had

not been blind to any of the rebuffs given him by his cousins, and it was certainly a detestable undertaking to plant himself where he would get the greatest numbers of them. But by this means his advancement must be quicker, he supposed, since he should make David and his wife introduce him to rich and active people.

Amy felt even less buoyant than her guest, as they sat down to dinner. Torrey's clean linen was ragged, and his best coat an ancient one. Amy was too fashionable to recognize the value of anybody unless they were very definitely labelled; just as she would have been misled in a connoisseur's collection, where the convenient classification of a museum was wanting. A dress coat was a comprehensive proof; a drawl would have been irrefutable.

"The first vacation I have, I must go to Massachusetts," Torrey began.

"Davie won't give you a vacation till next summer," replied Amy; and her husband offered his new agent wine, and became more cordial. He had determined that business itself should not take Torrey to that particular State.

But the young stranger could not keep his reflections, for the next ten minutes, from wandering to the spot where he had formed his earliest memories. He thought of his stalwart grandfather, who had been a successful merchant. This personage had left all his money to a favorite among three sons, for the excellent reason that one was a rascal, and the other dead. Torrey's heart turned over as he recalled his bachelor uncle, the favored son, who had taken him to live at the homestead when his mother died. They had loved each other vigorously; but they had not loved at all the uncle who had brought disgrace into the family, and they built themselves a bonfire when the news came that he also was dead. Moreover, they were generous enough with their displeasure to detest the man's children, of whom David was one. Torrey's uncle very often winked at him in a friendly way, saying nothing. But once in a great while he followed up this grimace by opening his lips, and remarking that Torrey would get the bulk of the money. That was as near as Torrey ever got to it. His uncle had subsequently suffered an accident, being shot by a companion's gun while hunting. The discharge lodged in his head, without fatal results; but, though it was extracted, the old gentleman never recovered from the effects of the wound, and became insane in consequence of it. Torrey found that he was by no means alone, as far as relations went. His paternal

and maternal cousins flocked about him. Then his uncle died. For a long time he did not quite believe it, because he had not seen the dead body. In proportion as we love, this illusion haunts us, unless we are convinced by the unresponsive face itself. It was at this juncture in Torrey's history that he first made David's acquaintance; the latter being a young married man of great intelligence, of whom every one said that he would already have made a hit of his career, if it had not been for his father's evil memory. David engaged counsel at once, and fought the will, on the ground that their uncle Fanwood had chosen him for his principal heir; and he gained his suit, in spite of Torrey's lawyer. These were events of ten years before, and in that time the sum of money which had been decreed to David's young rival had gone for his education. David's inheritance had, on the contrary, increased as wealth deserved, and he was now something of a nabob. But if he and Amy were happy in their riches, they enjoyed them in that inexplicable manner which gives a dissatisfied and belligerent air. Torrey was not above being gratified to observe it.

The end of November approached, and business became more active; but, in spite of this, Torrey announced that he must be going to Massachusetts, to pay his respects at his uncle's grave. He wished, also, to take a glance at the old Fanwood mansion, which might not wholly survive another winter. David outdid himself in his efforts to detain the young fellow willingly where he was, and finally forbade his absence, in the least elegant terms. As he had kept him short of money, he felt sure of being able to manage him. But Torrey had a Shakspearean nimbleness of resource. He borrowed fifty dollars of an impartial by-stander, and took the train for Boston without a moment's further hesitation.

After he had got started it seemed as if a hurry took possession of him which fairly shortened his breath. If he had been journeying, after his long absence, toward a conclave of loving brothers and sisters, to say nothing of a couple of parents, he could not have had his heart nearer his mouth, or a more dizzying eagerness in his brain. The old homestead held nothing but cousins of different degrees, and he did not much like cousins. But he made a bee-line for the house, with the intention of looking about it for half an hour, and of visiting the places where he had frolicked away his childhood so happily. It was dusk, and in this gray atmosphere stood the uneven framework of the house, upon its slight elevation, which Torrey lov-



ingly credited as being a natural throne. The great elm, which had been inseparably connected with the homestead during its existence, had partly fallen away, and nothing was young and bright in the whole scene, as he now found it, but the lately risen evening star.

A figure emerged from the house and ran across the road, toward the brook which in spring made a fine racket, and in November lay in melancholy silence among its dead leaves, and at night slept still deeper under shrouding mist. Torrey wondered that the girl whom he had just seen should choose to go to the brook at this hour, when the dampness and chill were rapidly increasing. The waywardness of the proceeding fixed his attention. He was under the control of his mental instincts that day, and he believed himself to be impelled by a serious motive to follow the agile figure which he had seen. He went rapidly down the incline among the bushes, toward the brook, by a little path which had coyly hidden itself there for fifteen years. As he reached the brook, with a sudden lunge, he came upon the girl again, with her arms about the neck of a young man, who was rewarding her for his satisfaction by heartily kissing her. She did not utter a sound when her tryst was broken in upon by Torrey's big person, almost shoulder to shoulder with them. Her companion was evidently equal to any emergency, and coolly and firmly asked Torrey his business.

"I guess I am your cousin," the latter said, accosting the girl. "I am Torrey Fanwood."

She gave a cry of surprise at this, and looked into her lover's face, as though with a meaning far more profound than the intruder would at all have expected as a consequence of his announcement.

"I did not wish to tell the people at the house I was here," Torrey continued. "I've only come to say good-by again to my old home. It ought to be mine, but it isn't; and there's an end."

"I am your cousin," said the girl, with a serious, and even sad, gaze, through the deepening dusk.

"I don't know why I followed you," Torrey went on. Then he added, with one of his reassuring, boyish laughs: "Perhaps you can tell me."

She looked again at the young man whose hand she held. He broke silence, remarking:

"It has all happened very queer. We must have a word or two with him, Margaret, as long as it's come round so that you've met

him." He turned to Torrey. "You see, they don't like me up at the house, any better than they would like you, on account of those old claims of yours. I'm not fine enough for them; and I humor their feelings, as far as I find best. So Margaret and I meet for the present in secret."

"Joe," said Margaret, putting her hands on his shoulders, an earnest light overspreading her unusually sweet face, "this meeting is at a wonderfully fitting time. Let us walk, all of us, to Michael's." She then addressed Torrey, penetrating the dim light with her gray-eyed glance. "Hold out your hand; I want to shake it for welcome. Torrey Fanwood, I have often thought of you. I remember seeing you the day we, all of us, came to the house, and you went out from it. Now, follow me."

She led the way along the brook's margin for a short distance, and thence mounted to the highway.

Strange as this sudden introduction was into the lives of two people whom he had cared nothing about but a moment before, Torrey felt thankful for it. He was glad of a welcome of any sort, where one was so utterly unexpected, and at a moment when his heart ached with a loneliness for which there seemed to be no possible relief. Moreover, the girl who now trudged at his side was one of those people who come to us familiarly, because we have waited for them so long, as realizations of faith. Her frank face answered his conception of what a young girl's countenance should be, and her cordial grasp of the hand had left him her willing servant for the future. He was a man who could die for any one to whom he owed a true satisfaction of the soul.

"My name is Margaret Torrey," she said. "They tell me I look like your mother. When we get to a light you shall see if you can find a memory of her anywhere about me."

He did not speak.

"I am going to take you to Nolan's cottage," she proceeded in a moment. "You have not forgotten him, eh?"

"No," answered Torrey, out of the gathering darkness.

"We all have something to tell you," she added.

He stopped with an exclamation, laying his hand very gently upon Margaret's arm, and Joe sprang to them across the road.

"What is it? I cannot wait!" gasped Torrey, whose face was now clearly visible, owing to its increased whiteness. "I have known it all along, and yet—what is it?"

"Hush!" answered Margaret, glancing round them; "I cannot speak here."

She ran on before the young men, and turned in at a little stranded gateway, drifted, as it were, by a sea of fields against the roadside; and they heard her knock at the door of the cottage which stood by itself there. An old man soon responded, carrying the lamp that had shed a ray of light from the window. Margaret's form was defined against the glow at the door, and upon entering the cottage she turned, so that her dark figure became radiant.

She took Torrey firmly by the hand and led him into the dingy kitchen, toward the table, where she motioned him to Nolan's lately vacated chair, and drew up another chair for herself. Looking at the owner of the cottage, she said:

"This is *Torrey*, Michael."

Nolan remained speechless, holding the lamp in both hands so tremulously that Joe seized it and set it upon the mantelshelf, while the old man came forward, gazing at Torrey.

"God bless you!" he cried, with a sob such as a heart full of years cannot always check. Torrey caught Nolan by the arms, and tried to open his lips to reply.

"Sit down, dear Michael," interrupted Margaret; and she also told her lover to bring his chair nearer. "My cousin has come very suddenly, as if our thinking brought him." Then she turned to him, speaking clearly and gravely, with her fine white hand lying not far from his on the table, as if he might have its warm grasp if he wished. "You were not rightly treated, when you were that red-cheeked little boy, ten years ago, and Davie came like a young hawk into the midst of us. Your dear uncle had gone crazy with his wound, and it was Davie who hurried him to an asylum, although he might just as well have been cared for at home. Michael and I used to talk of this, when I spoke about you. I remember very well the time that they brought the news of Uncle Fanwood's death. We had a funeral." Margaret's eyes shone full into Torrey's, and she laid her hand upon his icy fingers. "Davie had hidden him away, living!"

Incoherent words rushed from Torrey's convulsed lips. He started up.

"Let me see him! My uncle; oh, my darling, my only friend!" he cried, groping forward, blind with agony.

"Come to yourself, Torrey," said Margaret. "You have something to do."

He grasped her soothing hand and covered it with kisses and tears, and knelt before her as she again sat down.

"You see, I'm one of the men at Merlin's Light," Joe burst out. "Stenson—that's the keeper—is not a good man; he was a companion of Davie's father. He had a ship of his own, which foundered, but he had saved the old sinner, Fanwood's, life in her, at the time of that dead-and-gone swindling affair, by taking him off to Japan. Davie knew all this, and that the captain had been put in charge of the lighthouse, later; and he went to see him there several times. Stenson let on to me about these things, never dreaming I'd meet Margaret, and piece the ends together for myself."

Torrey rose from the girl's side, his limbs quivering, and sat down in his chair. Nolan drew close to him, and exclaimed passionately:

"Your uncle loved me like a brother, Master Torrey; he never gainsaid God about me, on the score that I was a farm-hand. He often told me we were brothers in humanity, because we understood each other, and because I loved the Lord. And I tell you, I never believed him dead. No one looked upon him in his coffin. It haunted me at all times that he breathed, as I was breathing. When Mr. Davie came round about a year and a half ago, I told him so. In all those years the idea was fresh to me, as though it had come to me but overnight. Oh, but he looked strange, very strange, at me, and offered me money, and said it was best to stop the chatter of an idiot, once in a while. Master Torrey, he did not deceive me. We old people, that have spent our days living next to the dogs, are mighty sharp at reading a man's face and movements. But what to say or do? I've spent many weeks wondering over that. Often I went to the graveyard, and tried to force myself to look into the grave; but it was a hard thing to begin. Now, Miss Margaret had always been so kind to me, that I at last hinted to her of my fears, for you can see she is one to whom you might trust the beating of your heart. Who came along then but Joe Thornton, here, putting his head in at my window, and saying he wanted to speak with me? I should a' thought him a hard character, setting out to scare me; but he was too handsome for that."

A smile broke over Torrey's lips, gentle, in spite of his stiffened features. He rose to his full height, as if in the pride of joy.

"He is living!" he said. He stood absorbed for a moment, and then resumed his seat by the table, fully master of himself.



"You must know," said Joe, with irrepressible earnestness, "that I am let off sometimes in summer, alternate with Eph Vane, to make a little by boating on the coast. Something in the way of an angel, I guess, brought Margaret to Clifton, where I hail from, and where I had my cat-boat. The friends she stayed with had already taken to me as if I was one of them, after a couple of trips and clam-bakes."

"You see what he is," Margaret observed.

"Not her equal in any way," said Joe. "But a few parties, with her in them, on my boat, settled my business, and I courted her fast and furious. I learned where she lived, and followed her up here. When it got as far as telling each other everything we ever had known, she spoke to me of you and your uncle Fanwood and of Davie's father; and of how badly she had always felt about living in the old house, while you were off somewhere abroad, and no home to your name. Then I told her what I had heard at Merlin's Light from Steenson, in connection with his knowledge of the family, and I made no difficulty of adding that the old captain was a deliberate devil. A sort of shadow came over us, as we laid things before each other, as if the truth were coming fast toward us; but we neither of us got it into shape until one day when we saw Nolan here going to the graveyard." Joe leaned over and slapped the bowed figure of Nolan on the shoulder. "Cheer up, Michael, I say! Margaret told me where he was bound, and why he often went there; and, upon that, I declared that if the good soul was hidden anywhere, Steenson knew it. Margaret and I got greatly excited at the notion, because we saw that the next step was to prove your uncle to be in the lighthouse. We believed our fancy, and at the same time thought it impossible, just as one treats a fortune-teller's tale. I took to poking round the place when Steenson wasn't at hand, and to listening for noises at night, when it was my turn to watch the lamp. I kept an extra eye open on Steenson, and then it seemed as if the rascal did nothing but hide some motive or action, from dawn to dawn. On one of my visits to Margaret (being given here and there a day or two) I made up my mind to see Michael, and propose going with him to open the grave. And—*we did!*" Joe hesitated; but Nolan raised his hands and let them fall upon his knees, limp and open. "So that was settled. Now, to find out where he was. Quicker than go to the asylum, which would likely have been bad for us and fatal to him, I decided to question Steen-

son, so far as might be, as he was wholly ignorant of my visits here, and could not easily be made anxious. I'll not go over all my tricks and traps for him, but I might have spared myself every one. Last week a raging storm set in, if you remember. We take more note of 'em, we that live on the inside of 'em, so to say. Great pieces of sand and loose rock in front of the lighthouse were carried off by the waves that tore around and over the hill; and I called the captain out, in a queer, fascinated kind of a way (Eph being at work over the dinner), to get his opinion as to whether the engine-house, where I was doing duty, and which stood a few rods from the main building, was going to be left with a foundation. The gale nearly stifled us as we went over to the little house. A sort of dark and white air surged about, and the sea burst up, creamy and roaring. The huge old tower we had left seemed cosy in comparison to the engine-house, and Steenson laughed, when we got into it, as he looked out to sea through the small window, and then at me; and he said he guessed he would hurry back to the kitchen, as the bank would very likely crumble under the engine and swallow me up. How he thrives on anybody's luck! He soon opened the door, pulling his cap down tighter, and I looked over his shoulder at the white lighthouse wall, and before I could breathe again I saw a sad, aged face at one of the windows. What with wind and wonder, my teeth chattered. Steenson, he fell against me, pushing me back, and swearing that he could hardly get across the ground: and then he cast a glance at me. I don't know what he had seen himself, but he was in a hurry, and told me to keep the door fast, and slammed it to. There was no window in the engine-house on the land side, and so, in spite of Steenson's order, I flung the door wide, and looked up and saw the motionless face, and raised my arm to it. Torrey, I loved that face, with the love of pity!"

"But, you see, he could not do more, then," said Margaret, "unless he first stepped over Steenson's dead body. Joe had to think of all the harm that might come to your uncle, for there was no doubt whose face he had seen. When the first quiet day opened, and Joe could be spared, he got leave of absence, and arrived at Michael's door this morning."

Joe started to his feet. Torrey rose up.

"Now we can work!" cried the young sailor, all alert.

"The law must work," exclaimed the girl.

They drew together in the centre of the room, where Torrey stood.

"Yes," he replied, smiling slightly, "but I am going to Merlin's Light. You must bring this before the police, Joe; and then follow me."

"You're going alone?" the young man asked, uneasily.

"No," Margaret interposed. The tears started to her eyes, and her lips whitened. "You must go with him. Michael and I will go to the city at once and inform the police, and you shall have their assistance as soon as possible."

"No, no," Nolan put in, authoritatively, shaking his head. "Leave that to me. You must only give me a letter, Mr. Torrey, and you must write it now." He brought pen, ink, and paper from the cupboard, and laid them on the table, moving to one side, with caressing fingers, the consolation of his existence, a Bible, which he had been reading when Margaret knocked. "And the blessing of God be with us!" he ejaculated.

Torrey seized the pen and began to write the letter with vigorous strokes. His countenance, usually full of openness and sweetness, took on a mysterious expression, which immediately classed him with the common herd of agonized and vindictive natures. He slowly flushed a dull red, and bit his heavy lips. As he ended the letter he struck the Bible, lying near his arm, with his fist, and was about to break into passionate utterance. But, observing what was beneath his hand, he remained silent until his fury had calmed. They then heard him murmur:

"If it were not for Christ!"

### III.

Torrey and Joe strode along over Cape Cannon, the peninsula upon which Merlin's Light is situated. Their efforts to obtain a horse and wagon of useful calibre at the last railroad town had proved fruitless, and they had decided to make the rough journey to their destination on foot. It was four o'clock of the next day since taking leave of Margaret and Michael. A sea-fog alternately thickened and thinned across their path, which was one of a dozen others leading to the outermost point of the promontory. In Torrey's case, the exhilaration of a sense of the danger which would in all probability develop out of a meeting with Steenson was tempered by a sickening fear lest his uncle had died from some cause since the

couple of days earlier when Joe had caught sight of him ; or (a more likely supposition) that he had become demented from the length of his imprisonment. The long, rough road over which Torrey was obliged to travel before his misgivings could be met by fact, although apparently retarding his wishes, nevertheless seemed really interested and responsive, as if it possessed an intimate knowledge of human history, and welcomed any chance members of the race of man to the best consolations it was permitted to offer them.

At the lifting of the fog at one point, where a steep hill was to be surmounted, not far from the elevation upon which the lighthouse stands, Torrey and his fellow-pedestrian saw in front of them an open buggy, carrying a slender figure, and toiling up the uneven road. The silence and emptiness of uninhabited regions had begun to cast a spell over Torrey, giving the life he had hitherto led an unreality, and suggesting a state of being that dealt in broader spaces of vision and longer intervals of speech. The abrupt appearance of a busy vehicle was discordant with his mood of profounder insight, and he took in the consciousness of this interruption with reluctance. But he suddenly awoke to the situation, in all its intensity. It was his cousin Davie who was ahead of him, bound for Merlin's Light ; and he must be stopped at all hazards—he *should* be stopped, at the risk of murder itself !

“There's one of the half-breed Indians, who are well enough off to ride like their betters, on Cape Cannon,” remarked Joe. “Perhaps he has a message for Steenson.”

Torrey, without answering a word, pressed noiselessly forward up the hill, then ran like the wind, and sprang upon the horse's bridle.

David had thought over all the obstacles and all the shocks of disappointment which he might encounter in proceeding to the lighthouse to arrange further safeguards against Torrey's possible suspicions, or the miscarriage of his own long-established devices in regard to his victim, old Mark Fanwood. This onslaught of Torrey's had been foreshadowed by his morbid conscience. He sat motionless.

“Get down !” said Torrey, holding the wiry horse, as it attempted to rear. His face gave no doubt that he was master of the man before him, as he was over the animal.

But a volley of oaths broke from David's lips, and then, with a rapid, ugly dexterity, he pulled out his revolver and aimed to shoot between Torrey's eyes.



"Get down!" the latter repeated, still more fiercely. "Your crime is finished!"

Joe had almost immediately apprehended the drift matters were taking; and, when he heard Torrey's command and exclamation, easily divined David's identity. He instantly seconded every unspoken thought of Torrey's. He leaped up at the back of the buggy, clutched David by the neck, and dragged him down into the mud of the road. A shot went off into the gathering fog; and Joe, unhurt, secured the weapon which David held, wrenched the reins from his clinging hand, and jumped into the empty seat. Torrey left the horse's head to get up beside Joe, but David was there before him, mad with a boy's unreasoning fury; for now that his self-control was lost, his petty nature was displayed in all its deformity of undevelopment. Torrey grappled with him and hurled him once more to the ground, with such violence that he lay stunned. So far, his uncle was safe.

While the horse rushed up the remainder of the hill, under Torrey's guidance, who had snatched the reins in his excitement, Joe glanced round, and observed that David's form moved. "I hope the day will not see our luck change!" he said, with a kind of awe.

Torrey could not respond, even to express his gratitude for Joe's possibly saving his life, or to speak encouragingly of the dangers they both still had to face. There is much cumulative force in silence.

As the lighthouse appeared upon its promontory, swept over by soft balls of fog, which passed across its tower with phantom-like indifference, Joe broke the long suspense by saying, while he indicated the white structure with a nod: "It looks as if all the sorrow in the world was inside of it! I hope Steenson's turned the other way!"

"You must get out and find him," said Torrey. "Tell him you have brought a friend to see the place. Get him round to the front yard. By that time I shall be on hand, with my rope unwound." Under his coat he had concealed some yards of cord, in the hope of securing Steenson's arms and feet with it.

Joe had barely jumped to the ground when the lighthouse door opened, and disclosed a man who proved to be the second assistant, Eph Vane. His ashen face was suggestive of some alarming event. Joe was hardly near enough for conversation, and so Vane, in his impatience, called out to him that he had seen them coming from an upper window; and then lowered his voice to a pitch which Torrey, from the buggy, could not overhear. He noticed, however,

that Joe stood talking with Vane instead of disappearing in search of the keeper, as previously arranged. As Torrey drove up to the doorstep, Joe exclaimed:

"Steenson has not been seen for several hours, but Eph has been hearing sounds that he can't account for, on the side of the lighthouse which faces the ocean."

Vane, who was very much shaken up, burst out with the confession that he was glad to behold two people of real flesh and blood, for he had been expecting to see something supernatural ever since the sounds began.

"I went through the entries of the unused part of the house, where I heard the voices," he said, "until I came to a door which was locked. Then I hunted everywhere for Steenson, for I did not like to break through the door until I had his orders. There were two voices when I first heard the sounds, or else I'm a lunatic."

"Are the noises still going on?" inquired Torrey, chilled by a terrible dread of which Eph was ignorant.

"They're faint now," returned the young man.

"Show the way to that door." Torrey threw the reins to Joe as he gave the order, telling him to stay with the horse, and not giving him time to object to this disposition of his help, as he hurried Vane into the house again. As Torrey followed his guide, a joy like that of a man approaching fatherhood filled his soul. The agony of anxious suspense could not lessen his exultation. The dead was not dead!

At last the locked door at which Vane had listened was reached. Torrey bowed before it. "Who's there?" he called.

No answer. A rustling of footsteps was heard upon the bare floor, and then of a hand resting upon the door-key, which moved slightly in the lock.

"Turn it," said Torrey, trembling from head to foot.

"I have tried; it is too large for me," answered a gentle voice. "Who are you?"

"A man to your rescue," came from Torrey. "Shall I break the lock?"

"Oh, *yes!*"

Torrey had provided himself with a wrench, in preparation for this emergency. In a few moments the door swung loose on its hinges, and he raised his eyes. A further passage-way led to another door, against which stood the aged figure of his uncle, whose

emaciated face was fixed with hopeful apprehension, as he stared before him. A slender window in the stone wall admitted a bar of sunlight, which struck the curling white hair upon the old man's brow; for the fog had taken itself away, and the sun was going down in splendor across the sea.

Torrey strode through the entry and took the ragged old man in his arms, and pressed his lips to the snowy, famished brow. Nothing was said. It was difficult, at best, for the poor victim to speak; and in the wonder and joy of the moment he did not remember to utter a word of questioning. He only realized that he was in an atmosphere of hope and peace for the first time in many years; and that he was in the arms of some one whom he could trust. Soon, however, he made a great effort to impart his thoughts, and spoke more easily with every sentence.

"I have waited here very long," he began, "and now things suddenly happen. The wind rose, not long ago, and went calling about the walls as if it were human, and rushed in through that window when it was opened. It was hard for him—for that man who comes here—to close the door again," continued Torrey's uncle, still leaning upon his nephew's shoulder, but stretching out his arm and touching the inner door, near which they both stood, with his fingertips. "It shuts with a catch, and I always tried it after he had gone. This day, not long ago, it gave way in my hand! I came to this window (it is so narrow!) and looked out upon the sea and the storm. And then, once more in my life, some one motioned to me, as if I lived! A great happiness swelled within me, and stupefied my limbs. That other man returned; he thrust me back!" Torrey felt the frail figure shrink. All at once the old Fanwood started into a more strenuous attitude. "He is in there! I shut him in. The spring was freshly oiled, and he had forgotten to bring the key for it in his hand; everything seemed against me, and yet I at last shut *him* in!"

Torrey observed that the key stood in the lock, upon the hither side of the door. The spring must have been placed upon the door to guard against any interference from the prisoner during the process of locking him into his room after attending to his wants. Undoubtedly Steenson was caught in the prison which had immured the old man, whom Torrey held so tenderly and thankfully in his arms at the end of a vista of inhuman years. Even suffering and oppression have their chances of splendid triumph, wherein the silent forces of nature seem to combine earnestly for the relief of a victim.

Torrey could easily picture to himself Steenson's dismay at the situation in which he had been placed, and at the hammering upon the lock of the outer door a few minutes back, when Torrey had broken through the first barrier.

"Let him stay in the prison he planned so well," said Torrey. "Come with me."

He almost carried his uncle along in his embrace to where Vane stood, gaping and shivering at the sight of the melancholy fellow-being who had existed near him so long without his knowing it.

"Go back to Joe," Torrey said to him. "Tell him we are coming, and that Steenson is under lock and key. My uncle must be moved slowly."

The old man fell back upon Torrey's arm, and stared at him.

"Your uncle?" he repeated. "Is this really, really Torrey?"

"Oh, yes, I am he, and too happy to speak of it, or to know what to say!"

"There is another nephew!"

"Well, his day is over."

"My Torrey! Oh, my Torrey!" Mark Fanwood's ecstasy was waxing like a tide. He hung upon his nephew's arm more and more heavily. His smiling lips quivered, his eyes closed, and sobs roughly shook him.

"Remember my anguish," cried Torrey. "You were not alone in suffering, and we must help each other to bear this joy. Be strong, for my sake!"

The old man raised himself at these words, and summoned all his pride and courage.

"I had strength, Torrey, you know. They did not succeed in killing me, or in driving me mad! I can bear release; release into the strange world again. Oh, my beloved boy, let me look at you!" He wished to turn full upon Torrey, in order to scrutinize the face which he had imagined over and over again with constantly growing tenderness, since the two last met; but he sank still lower, and his weary eyes refused to serve him. Like a faded flower, which breaks at the touch, his frail majesty of demeanor seemed to crumble into nothingness.

"Is he dying?" asked Vane, who could not cease from the contemplation of him, to carry the message which Torrey wished to send to Joe.

"Dying!" cried Torrey. "Do you think I would let him die



now? He will revive, unless my flask has leaked itself empty on the way here;" and he lifted it to his uncle's lips, whom he had carried and placed at full length upon the floor of the lower hall. The old man was instantly in a half doze from the effects of the brandy, and his cheeks gained a little color.

At this moment a pistol-shot cracked through the air outside, and Vane threw open the hall door, supposing that Joe was in trouble.

The sunlight spread over the hilly point, making its simple undulations attractive; and between the door and the landscape sat Joe, in the buggy, reining his horse to a stand-still, and grinning all over his face.

"Look at him now!" he laughed, pointing with his pistol in the direction of a man in shirt-sleeves, who was covering the ground toward the mainland at a rapid pace. "That's Steenson, Eph; and he has no pistol with him, so his raid on me was unequal. I fired into the air, but it satisfied him. By Gosh, I've got to laugh! But how is it inside there?" He could not see distinctly into the hallway.

"Leave the horse and come in," Eph returned. "He went up and found an old man there, whom he calls his uncle. I wish you'd tell me something about it."

Joe tied the horse, in speechless haste, and bounded in at the door. There was Torrey, bending over his uncle's form, and making the old gentleman's head comfortable upon his cloak, which he had rolled up. He stood, gazing.

"What a splendid fellow he is!" he muttered. "We'll have him to look like a soldier, yet."

"Whose shot was that?" asked Torrey.

"Mine. Steenson's well on his way to join that d——d David. He must have left you in a great flurry, for he's without his coat. He tried to get the buggy, and I'd have had to give it up, but for my other stolen property, the pistol. The cap' is five times as strong as I am."

"But how could Steenson escape? Was there a window in that prison up there? He was locked into it!" Torrey ejaculated, thinking aloud. "Joe, I must go up and look at the room. You see my uncle is breathing full and evenly. He knows he is alone no longer! Keep a lookout from the door, one of you. We won't admit anyone here besides the police, at present."

Torrey hastened up-stairs, turned the key, which stood outside,

in the lock of the heavy door of his uncle's room, and crossed the threshold. No one was there. A few pieces of furniture, some books, and small objects met his view. Then he noticed a window with a deep embrasure, indicating the solidity of this portion of the lighthouse, which was to the north and west. From the brick wall around the window hung several bars of iron, which had been torn out of place by the help of a yet stouter iron rod, that now lay on the floor beneath the window, where Steenson's coat had also been left, in his frantic haste to free himself from his unexpected entrapment. He had, no doubt, escaped from the room but a few minutes before, as the iron rod, which Torrey took into his hand, was slightly warm. The chances for him were that he would take a safe road among the many paths leading to and fro over the point, and get off from the vicinity by water.

But David was at hand. He would not have such convenient avenues of flight as the ex-sea-captain. He would reap his reward of punishment, and suffer whatever penalty his nature was capable of appreciating. He should sneer at Torrey, for the last time, from the prisoner's dock.

Torrey re-locked the door of the room, and hurried back to his uncle.

Joe, in his energetic way, had the old gentleman on his feet again, and supported him comfortably with immense pride.

"Isn't he brightening up, though?" he demanded of Torrey. "He's able to walk into the sitting-room, and we might as well use Merlin's, just now, to suit ourselves. Eph, where are the officers, I beg to know? It makes my flesh creep to think of those two demons escaping justice!"

Torrey put his arms about his uncle's neck, and feasted his eyes with gazing into the old man's patient face, which was a perfectly consistent outgrowth of the one he had loved, showing that the despair and revolt which had assailed the veteran had been nobly repelled.

"Come and rest," said Torrey, in his sweet, vigorous accents "I seem to have lived a year in these few moments. It is hard to realize that my happiness has begun again; that I have something to look forward to. My beloved friend, my only friend!"

Tears burned the old man's eyes, but he would not let them fall.

"I'll be something to you yet, my boy," he said, "and repay you as I can for your faith to me. Torrey, my boy, those who lean on you will never be shaken when human help can sustain them. May

the God who sends us woe and rejoicing bless you with his peace!" He tried to raise his hands in prayer, but one of them fell again to his side. "My arm seems still to be in prison," he explained. "That man broke it, long ago, with the iron bar he always held."

The criminals awaited trial until Torrey and his uncle could appear in court, where the judge, in trying less sinister cases, often thought of them, and mentally rehearsed their future sentences.

Torrey's relatives at the homestead melted away like smoke before the wind, with the single exception of Margaret. She vied with Torrey in the care of old Mark Fanwood; and if love could have restored his vitality, he would have grown as stalwart and stately as he was at the time of his disappearance. But he became weaker and thinner every day. Terrestrial life is never a high consideration with God. When his uncle lay dead before him Torrey realized this truth.

Before the old man died, however, Torrey was urged to repair to court, that the trial might begin before it was too late for his uncle to be present, when needed. He consented to appear. The prisoners were brought in, hissed at, and placed, in all the loathsomeness of their foreboding and wrath, prominently before the men and women who looked on. Torrey then refused to prosecute them.

"There is no punishment," Fanwood's nephew said, "for a man full grown. When he has reached years of discretion the justice of moral reasoning should bring him to the wisdom of righteousness. There is no punishment for a crime like theirs. Let them go back to themselves, and feel the power, not of men, but of God. He sustained us in our agony; let him sustain them in their repentance. Let them go again into the world. David, keep the money which you used so badly when it reached your guilty hands. You sold yourself for it, and the right to it is polluted. I should like to do what little I can to prove that luxury and vulgar power can be rejected, if we will. I am content. I wish you liberty and opportunity; I wish you repentance and wisdom, and the consolation of love; and a ray from the glory of God, who will redeem you, and make you one with us, your victims, in the faith which is more powerful than sin."

Torrey's tremulous, forgiving tones were followed by a hush of surprise and respect. In another instant some one sobbed.

## CRITICISMS, NOTES, AND REVIEWS.

---

### M. TAINÉ AND THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY.

TAINÉ's historical method may be summed up in one word; it is an *explanation* of history with reference to ends in view, not as they should have occurred according to an ideal aim, but as they did occur according to the nature of the actors and conditions which determined them. Most historians have had some theory or foregone conclusion to elaborate. Grote thought that the development of Greece was due to democratic sentiment; Thirlwall regarded the aristocratic sentiment as the governing force. Thiers' object was to glorify France by glorifying Napoleon. Macaulay thought that England was most indebted to the Whigs for its progress. Carlyle saw in the French Revolution a gloomy Puritan poem. Tainé has no theory; he analyzes events, presents and classifies innumerable facts, and tells the reader to "form his own opinions." But he, too, has opinions, and he states them. The student of his pages will find these given in very few words at the end of almost every section of a chapter, separated from the text by a dash. He contents himself by pointing a moral just demonstrated in the most irrefutable manner.

His method introduces into history new factors of judgment. The principal one is the *psychological* factor. For example, he does not pat a visionary on the back because he rants about liberty, equality, and fraternity. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre preach and fight for the "rights of man." What is there in the intellectual make-up of these men to justify their apostleship. Tainé cites what they say and do in daily life apart from their pretensions as reformers. He shows that Marat was a pretender in science, constantly over-excited, full of disease, "foul in dress and person," and almost a lunatic. He shows that Danton was organically a splendid animal, qualified for leadership, but brutal through lack of culture and moral discipline, and in reality a clever, social, philosophical highwayman. He shows that Robespierre was a pedant (*cuisire*), with "the hollow, inflated mind, which, filled with words and imagining that these are ideas, revels in its own declamation and dupes itself that it may dictate to others." He proves all these characteristics by facts outside of the political action of these men, so that we are able to see how the true "rights of man" were sacrificed by those who were not qualified to advocate and adjust them.

Not only does Tainé apply this psychological factor to individuals, but to classes of people and to political parties. He shows us the mental



calibre of the French aristocracy, of the king who was responsible for the governing power, of the Girondists whose feebleness through their illusions is as conspicuous as the strength of their Jacobin enemies was through their desperate fanaticism. He explains clearly the combined pernicious results of brutality, imbecility, and "ideology." On finishing his *French Revolution*, the reader comprehends how men who had resorted to force to destroy society, without adequate intelligence, were put down by and replaced by Napoleon, who employed both force and intelligence to build society up on the ground which they had cleared off. Again, we comprehend how Napoleon, in his turn, misused his genius and fell by pitting himself against the whole civilized world.

M. Taine's method will revolutionize the writing of history. It is the scientific method. The man of science proceeds as far as possible from the consideration and classification of facts to a principle or law which is founded on and which embraces these facts. He does not adopt the unwise method of the older historians, first formulating a theory, and then seeking and selecting facts of history which conform to it. It is very questionable whether in future historical narrations orators will be deemed eminent, because able to stimulate popular opinion, or civilians regarded as great patriots, who control military movements which result in disaster. The human mind is becoming more scientific, or, in other words, more precise, exacting, and comprehensive in its knowledge of motives and means, and demands a just intermingling of the inductive and deductive processes in the science of history. Thanks to M. Taine, "the incorruptible priest of historic truth," as he was styled last summer at Heidelberg, the way is paved for it in his masterly works. The translation of his splendid study of Napoleon Bonaparte, which we have given our readers in this and the preceding number of the *NEW PRINCETON*, is in its way as perfect as the original. It was made by M. Taine's friend, Mr. John Durand, with the author's consent and authority. There could be no better illustration than this of the writer's historical method.

It will interest many readers to know that M. Taine's name is Hippolyte Adolphe. M. Buloz, former editor and proprietor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, was dissatisfied with the signature of H. Taine, used by the author then as now. Wanting a larger one for appearance sake, he deliberately and wilfully rebaptized M. Taine by the name of Henri. In both England and America he has since that day been so well known by this appellation, that many even of the initiated think there are two Taines, Hippolyte Adolphe and Henri, both men of mark.

## BOOK NOTICES.

REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH PROSE AND PROSE WRITERS. By THEODORE W. HUNT, PH. D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Language in Princeton College. *Author of The Principles of Written Discourse, etc.* New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. 1887. 12mo., pp. xiii., 527.

It is a notable sign of progress in American educational methods that we are turning away from study about things to the investigation of the things themselves. And this tendency is in few departments of instruction more welcome than in the study of our own language and literature. Between the dull lecture and the dreary text-book the student of a former generation was in danger of missing the literary spirit altogether; but now in almost every part of the field there is a disposition to clothe the old skeleton of memorized rule and precept with the living flesh of real literary acquirement.

One main object of Professor Hunt's treatise is to further this movement in the sphere of English prose. Believing that literary criticism should be in a measure philosophic, and not inclining to the view which would have the text-book a simple volume of selections, he still seeks to develop in his readers a real acquaintance with the periods and the writers discussed. Some critics may differ from him in regard to the divisions of the subject, others concerning a few of the authors whose works he has chosen to illustrate his theme; but the majority will sanction the purpose of the volume and congratulate its author on the success with which his ends have been attained. The volume displays a sound method, acute judgment, and the certain signs of original investigation in new and striking conclusions. The usefulness of the work is enhanced by a full table of contents and a careful index.

### MEDITATIONS OF A PARISH PRIEST.

THOUGHTS. By JOSEPH ROUX. Introduction by Paul Mariéton. Translated from the third French edition by Isabel F. Hapgood. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., No. 13 Astor Place. 1886. 12mo. pp. xxx., 213.

The classical training of the ecclesiastical schools, communion with ancient and modern literature during twenty-five years of

service in remote parishes, the meditations of a retiring spirit on its experiences and sufferings in this long period of obscurity—these have been the chief factors in the intellectual development of the Abbé Joseph Roux. And M. Mariéton has done the literary world a real service in persuading the Abbé to give his writings to the press, for the present volume is not only attractive in itself, but will also awaken interest in those which are to follow. For the *Thoughts* present a striking combination of the old thinking and the new, of the order which is said to be passing away and that which is so loudly heralded as the promise of a better age. A collection of epigrams and reflections on a wide range of subjects, they betray at once the hand of the ecclesiastic and of the philosopher, of the parish priest and of the keen observer infected with a touch of modern cynicism. Many of them are noble in content, and if we may judge from their English dress, admirably expressed; others move on a somewhat lower plane, while a few savor too distinctly of the depressing influences borne in upon the writer from his lonely living in a barren land. But in the end the Abbé always triumphs. Even the saddest of his musings, those on the peasants and the country, which some have considered unworthy of the Christian priest, reveal the lofty thinking of a noble spirit; if, indeed, it may not be said that he sees the animality or the stupidity or the selfishness of the peasants in darker colors, partly because of the contrast with nobler qualities in himself. And in his concluding paragraph he thus submits all his meditations to the authority of his Church: "I declare that I retract every passage in this book which would be, directly or indirectly, inconsistent with religion and morality. No thought is allowable which is not Catholic. . . . A philosopher propagates . . . darkness, not light, scandal, not peace, if he does not teach like Peter, with Peter!"

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST. By FRANK WAKELEY GUNSAULUS. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. 12mo. pp. 267.

There are two distinct functions of Christian apologetics which yet are so closely allied that they often are confounded. The one is for the believer, and consists in the

proof that the Christian position is tenable ; the second is for the unbelieving world, and consists in the exhibition of Christianity as so rationally probable that it logically commands assent. It must not be forgotten, indeed, that neither of these functions can be fully exercised unless the other also is

employed. Defence naturally leads to offence, and the tenability of the system is a long step forward in the argument that it must be held. But while the vital relations of the two are thus recognized, it remains of first importance to keep their points of difference steadily in view.

---

 BOOKS RECEIVED,

*Of which there may be critical notice hereafter.*

- BALLOU.—*Due North*, pp. xii., 373. Boston, 1887: Ticknor & Co.
- BARNARD.—*Technical Education*, pp. 70. Baltimore, 1877: Baltimore & Ohio R.R. Company.
- BASCOM.—*Sociology*, pp. vii., 264. New York, 1887: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- BÜHLER.—*The Laws of Manu*. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXV., pages cxxxviii., 620. Oxford, 1886: The Clarendon Press, New York, Macmillan & Co.
- CAMERON.—*Worth Winning*, pp. 319. Philadelphia, 1887: J. B. Lippincott Co.
- CAMPBELL.—*Prisoners of Poverty*, pp. v., 257. Boston, 1887: Roberts Brothers.
- CURTIS.—*Creation or Evolution*, pp. xxii., 564. New York, 1887: D. Appleton & Co.
- DIMON.—*Antagonisms of Motions*, pp. 140. Auburn, 1885.
- DOS PASSOS.—*Inter-State Commerce Act*, pp. ix., 125. New York, 1887: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- EGGELING.—*The Satapatha-Brâhmana*. Part II. Books III. and IV. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXVI., pp. xxxii., 480. Oxford, 1885: The Clarendon Press. New York, Macmillan & Co.
- GRATACAP.—*Philosophy of Ritual*, pp. v., 290. New York, 1887: James Pott & Co.
- HARRISON.—*Latest Studies in Indian Reservations*, pp. 233. Philadelphia, 1887: Indian Rights Association.
- HASKARL.—*Evolution as Taught in the Bible*, pp. 51. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.
- HAWES.—*The Picture of Paul*, pp. xx., 283. New York, 1887: T. Y. Crowell & Co.
- HITCHCOCK.—*American State Constitutions*, pp. 61. New York, 1887: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- HUNT.—*English Prose and Prose Writers*, pp. xiii., 521. New York, 1887: A. C. Armstrong & Son.
- JONES.—*Fevers; Medical and Surgical Memoirs*, pp. xxii., 1,348. New Orleans, 1887: Joseph Jones, 156 Washington ave.
- LEGGE.—*The Li-Ki*. Two volumes, pp. xiv., 484, 496. Sacred Books of China. Part IV. Sacred Books of the East. Volumes XXVI. and XXVII. Oxford, 1885: The Clarendon Press. New York, Macmillan & Co.
- MCLAUGHLIN.—*Researches into the Etiology of Dengue*, pp. 24. Chicago, 1886: American Medical Association.
- MURRAY.—*English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Parts I., II., and III., pp. 1,040. Oxford and New York, 1887: Macmillan & Co.
- NORTON.—*Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle*, pp. xix., 362. London and New York, 1887: Macmillan & Co.
- NUTTALL.—*Standard Dictionary*. Edited by James Wood, pp. xii., 816. London and New York, 1886: Frederick Warne & Co.
- OLDENBERG.—*The Grihya-Sâtras*. Part I. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXIX. Oxford, 1886: The Clarendon Press, New York, Macmillan & Co.
- PATTON.—*In Memoriam, A. A. Hodge*, pp. 62. Philadelphia, 1887: John Wanamaker.
- PARKER.—*The People's Bible*. Vol. V., pp. iv., 360. New York, 1887: Funk & Wagnalls.
- RAWLINSON.—*Biblical Topography*, pp. vii., 141. New York, 1887: James Pott & Co.
- Report of the United Missions in Japan*, pp. 38. Tokyo, 1887: R. Meiklejohn & Co.
- ROBERTS.—*New York American Commonwealth Series*, pp. xii., xiv., 758. Two volumes. Boston, 1877: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- ROBERTS.—*In Divers Tones*, pp. viii., 134. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.
- ROBINSON.—*The Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus*, pp. viii., 199. New York, 1887: The Century Co.
- The Kernel and the Husk*, pp. ix., 375. Boston, 1887: Roberts Brothers.
- WHARTON.—*Digest of the International Law of the United States*. Three volumes, pp. xxxiii., 825, 832, and 837. Washington, 1887: Government Printing Office.
- WILSON.—*Ænigma Vitæ*, pp. xii., 254. London, 1887: Hodder & Stoughton.
- VAN DYKE.—*Principles of Art*, pp. x., 291. New York, 1887: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

## RECORD.

### POLITICS.—DOMESTIC.

THE ADMINISTRATION. — PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S Administration during the past six months has followed closely the lines marked out in the previous eighteen months of its existence. The President's ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOUTH was indicated in a speech which he made at Richmond, Virginia, on October 21, in which he said: "The present Administration of the government is obliged to return for husbandry not only promises, but actual tenders of fairness and justice, that we call protection, and the full participation in national achievements. If in the past we have been estranged, and the cultivation of American citizenship has been interrupted, your enthusiastic welcome demonstrates that there is an end to such estrangement, and that the time of suspicion and fear is succeeded by an ERA OF FAITH AND CONFIDENCE."—On October 27 the President issued a proclamation revoking his order in regard to discriminating DUTIES ON SPANISH IMPORTS. The effect of this action was to revive the proclamation of the President's order relieving Spanish vessels in our waters of differential duties.—The Attorney-General in October gave an opinion that NATIONAL BANKS must deposit INTEREST-BEARING BONDS to secure their circulation, and that called three per cent. bonds cannot be used as a basis of circulation.—On December 2 a proclamation was issued by the President proclaiming the new EXTRADITION TREATY WITH JAPAN, which immediately went into force.—THE NEW TREATY WITH THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT was ratified by the Senate on January 20. It extends for seven years the commercial relations of the United States with the Islands as they now exist, and continues them indefinitely until either one of the contracting parties gives one year's notice of the desire to abrogate the instrument. A very important amendment made to the treaty cedes to the United States Pearl River Harbor as a coaling and naval station. This must be approved by the President and the Hawaiian Government before the ratification can be made final.—THE ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION TOWARD THE NEGRO was accented by the President's renomination of J. C. Matthews (colored), to be Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia. The Senate, on January 26, again rejected

this nomination. The President then nominated JAMES M. TROTTER (colored), of Massachusetts, for the same position. The Committee on the District of Columbia reported against him, but the Senate, in the closing hours of the session, confirmed the nomination.—THE FIRST CHANGE IN PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S CABINET took place when on February 14 SECRETARY MANNING handed in his resignation of the Treasury portfolio, to take effect not later than March 4th. Treasurer Jordan also resigned about the same time. Secretary Manning is to be President and Mr. Jordan Vice-President of the Western National Bank of New York, at salaries much larger than those afforded by their Government positions.—On March 31 President Cleveland appointed Assistant Secretary CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD to be SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, and JUDGE I. H. MAYNARD, Second Comptroller, to fill Assistant Secretary Fairchild's place. Both appointments were made on Civil Service Reform principles.—THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL shows that the total number of post-offices in this country on October first, 1886, was 54,157. The financial condition of the postal service had improved during the year beyond expectation. Notwithstanding the reduction in the rate of postage on second-class matter, and the increase of the unit of weight on first-class matter from one-half ounce to an ounce, the deficiency was diminished within that of the year before, being less than \$6,900,000.—THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR showed that the Army consists of 2,103 officers, and 23,946 enlisted men. The Secretary especially recommended the solving of the problem of coast defences, and the manufacture of a gun which can compete with war ships of modern construction.—THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR has been referred to under the head of "Indian Affairs."—Secretary Manning, of the TREASURY, in his ANNUAL REPORT showed that we should soon have an annual surplus of \$125,000,000. He recommended the repeal of the law making compulsory Treasury purchases of silver; second, further reduction of surplus taxation down to the necessities of Government economically administered; third, a repeal of the act of May, 1878, making compulsory post-redemption issues and reissues of United



States legal tender notes; fourth, the gradual purchase and payment of the \$346,000,-000 outstanding promissory notes of the United States with the present accruing Treasury surplus, issuing silver certificates in their room, and gold certificates if need be, without contraction of the present circulating volume of currency—these notes, called greenbacks, being now the only debt due before 1891, except the three per cent. bonds which are probably all to be called and paid early in the ensuing fiscal year. The Secretary recommended the repeal of the tariff duties on raw materials.—SECRETARY WHITNEY, OF THE NAVY, in his annual report, said that he had endeavored to consolidate in one bureau the general purchase and the care and disposition of stores and property. The Secretary on December first issued an order directing the discharge of nearly all the watch force of the various Navy Yards. Marines, who make excellent watchmen, and who are not paid extra for the service, have taken the places of these watchmen.

**CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.**—The cause of Civil Service Reform has received a continued and FIRM SUPPORT from the Administration throughout the past six months.—On October 26 the President directed the SUSPENSION of M. E. BENTON (Dem.), United States Attorney for the Western District of Missouri, and of WILLIAM STONE (Rep.), United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania. These officers had been engaged in addressing political meetings in their respective districts, thus violating the President's order forbidding active participation of officeholders in politics. On November 17 the President REINSTATED MR. BENTON on the latter's plea that his official business had not suffered through his political activity. Mr. Stone was, however, not reinstated.—In October the Civil Service Commissioners decided that the EXAMINATION of APPLICANTS, whether for appointment or promotion, should be carried on under the supervision of the Commissioners at Washington, and not be left to the discretion of the local board of examiners. The President approved this change in January.—The Second Auditor of the Treasury Department, William A. Day, who was known when appointed as a strong opponent of Civil Service Reform, in his annual report for 1886 said: "It is but just to say that the CIVIL SERVICE APPOINTEES generally appear to be men of intelligence and capacity, who will undoubtedly make EXCELLENT CLERKS as soon as they have acquired the technical knowledge and expertness, which can be gained only by experience and practice. The clerks, as a body, are entitled to commendation for faithfulness and industry."—The friends of Civil Service Reform were not encouraged when, on December 18, Mr.

Trenholm, Comptroller of the Currency, asked for the RESIGNATION OF MR. A. M. SCRIBA, the National Bank Examiner of New York City, who had held that place since 1883, having filled the position of Assistant Examiner for the twelve previous years. His appointment had been in the nature of a promotion on the principles of Civil Service Reform. In the letter asking his resignation, Comptroller Trenholm found no fault with Mr. Scriba, but said that he wished so responsible a position to be filled by a man with whom he was personally acquainted. After many protests from influential financiers in this city, Mr. Trenholm finally appointed as successor to Mr. Scriba, V. P. SNYDER, then Deputy Comptroller of the Currency. He explained that he alone could judge of the efficiency with which Mr. Scriba had performed his duties, and that an examiner should on no account hold his office by reason of popularity, or the favor of bank officers, or a public sentiment averse to official changes.—In December the Civil Service Commissioners, after a careful investigation of the New York Custom-House, submitted a report to the President recommending that PROMOTION BE MADE from class to class BY A PROCESS OF EXAMINATION upon certification of the whole list of eligibles to the promoting officer. This plan superseded the so-called Hayes rules, under which promotions were previously made.—At a meeting of the REFORM DEMOCRATS OF MARYLAND in Baltimore, on January 12, a resolution was adopted as follows: "That we heartily endorse the National Administration of President Cleveland in its efforts to secure reform in the currency, and tariff reform, and also its civil service reform policy, whenever it is carried into effect in its true spirit, but we are compelled to express our regret that in the State of Maryland the laws and rules establishing said reform are NOT ADMINISTERED IN GOOD FAITH, and that the Federal appointments in Maryland, with few exceptions, have been made in accordance with the spoils system in its worst form, which system the American people condemned in the election of President Cleveland himself."

**THE WORK OF CONGRESS.**—The last session of the Forty-ninth Congress began at noon on December 6 with the usual formalities. At two o'clock the PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE was received and read. Among the features of that document (which is too extensive to be here completely summarized) are the following: He dwelt at length upon the importance of REDUCING THE SURPLUS REVENUE by a reduction of taxation; he showed that the surplus, if allowed to continue, would result either in the hoarding of the circulating medium in the Treasury, or in wasteful public extravagances; and he called for a

revision of the revenue laws by the lowering of the duties on the necessaries of life, and on raw materials. He reaffirmed his opinions on the SILVER QUESTION, expressed in his previous message; urged strongly the vote of additional money and the appointment of a commission to hasten the allotment of lands in severalty to the INDIANS; recommended the repeal of the PREEMPTION, TIMBER CULTURE and DESERT LAND ACTS; recommended the bestowal of powers of arbitration on the LABOR BUREAU, and finally commended in strong terms the operation of the CIVIL SERVICE LAW. On this point he said: "Our Civil Service Reform may be imperfect in some of its details; it may be misunderstood and opposed; it may not always be faithfully applied; its designs may sometimes miscarry through mistake or wilful intent; it may sometimes tremble under the assaults of its enemies, or languish under the misguided zeal of its impracticable friends, but if the people of this country ever submit to the banishment of its underlying principles from the operation of their government, they will abandon the SUREST GUARANTEE OF THE SAFETY AND SUCCESS OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS. I invoke for this reform the cheerful and encouraging support of Congress. I renew my recommendation made last year, that the salaries of the Commissioners be made equal to other officers of the Government having like duties and responsibilities, and I hope that such reasonable appropriations may be made as will enable them to increase the usefulness of the cause they have in charge."—The President, on December 8, transmitted to Congress the correspondence which had taken place in regard to the CANADIAN FISHERIES DISPUTE, and a letter from the Secretary of State on that subject, who stated that the United States would demand damages for the action of the Canadian authorities in seizing American fishing vessels, and recommended the appointment of a commission to take proof. The IMPORTANT BILLS PASSED by both houses of Congress, and which have become laws, are in the order of their passage as follows:—On December 17, a bill to extend the FREE DELIVERY SYSTEM of the Post Office Department, providing that letter carriers shall be employed at every incorporated city, village or borough containing a population of 50,000, and may be employed at every place containing a population of not less than 10,000, according to the last general census, or at any post office which produced a gross revenue for the preceding fiscal year of not less than \$10,000.—On January 14 the Conference report on the ELECTORAL COUNT BILL was agreed to. It was signed by the President. This bill practically allows each State to settle any dispute that may arise over its electoral vote, and there is to be no going behind such returns by Congress. Should any State, how-

ever, fail to make provision for the settlement of its disputes, a statement of the facts is to be laid before Congress through the State's Executive, the latter being required to transmit to the Secretary of State, immediately after the appointment of electors, a certificate setting forth the names of the electors and a canvass of the number of votes cast for each. This certificate the Secretary is to publish in full, so that Congress will be enabled immediately upon assembling to take cognizance of the result of the election.—On January 21, the House finally passed the INTER-STATE COMMERCE BILL by 219 to 41. It had been passed by the Senate by 43 to 15, and, therefore went to the President, who finally approved it. Among the chief provisions of the bill are following: Any common carrier is forbidden to demand or receive a greater or less compensation for any service connected with freight or passenger transportation than from others for like services in the transportation of a like kind of traffic under similar circumstances and conditions. It is provided, however, that upon application to the Commission appointed under the provisions of this act, such common carrier may, in special cases, be authorized by the Commission to charge less for a longer than for a shorter haul, and the Commission may, from time to time, prescribe the extent to which such relief may be granted. All pooling of freights by different and competing railroads, or dividing between them the aggregate or any proportion of the earnings of such railroads, is forbidden. After 90 days from the passage of the act railroads are required to print for the inspection of everybody schedules of rates and charges, and the Commissioners have authority, whenever they deem it necessary, to prepare and require the publication of rates made to other places beyond the lines of the several railroads. A published notice of ten days must be made before any advance in rates, but no such notice is required for a reduction. Any breakage of bulk shipments or other device to evade the application of this law is forbidden. A fine of \$5,000 and costs is imposed upon the company, or any of its agents, which is proved to have violated the law, and the penalty applies to every offence. Provision is made for the legal protection of the Commissioners and the orderly execution of the law. Five Commissioners are created by it, the first five to be appointed by the President subject to the confirmation of the Senate, and to serve 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 years respectively from January 1, 1887, but each successor to serve for six years. The Commissioners must not be in any way interested pecuniarily in the stock or bonds of corporations affected by the act, nor in any way in their employ. These Commissioners have authority to call for books, papers, etc., to summon witnesses and to appeal to the courts for assistance in

cases of disobedience. The salary of each Commissioner is fixed at \$7,500, and the Commission is allowed to appoint a Secretary at a salary of \$3,500. The Interior Department is to have general supervision of the Commission.—In accordance with the provisions of this law, President Cleveland, on March 22d, appointed the following RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS: Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan for six years; William R. Morrison of Illinois, for five years; Augustus Schoonmaker of New York, for four years; A. F. Walter of Vermont, for three years; Walter L. Bragg of Alabama, for two years. They took their oath of office on April 1, and Judge Cooley was chosen Chairman. This Commission is composed of very able men, several of whom have had experience in railroad affairs, and all of whom are lawyers of ability and standing. The selection has been generally commended by fair minded men.—In January the President approved an act which had been passed by both houses of Congress granting PENSIONS TO THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE MEXICAN WAR.—On February 19 both houses passed the TRADE DOLLAR BILL, providing that for six months these dollars shall be redeemed at their face value by the United States Treasurer or Assistant Treasurers, and be recoined into standard dollars; but the trade dollars so recoined shall not be counted as part of the silver bullion required to be purchased and coined into standard dollars under the act of February 28, 1878. This bill became a law without the President's signature.—On February 19 both houses adopted a Conference report on the ANTI-POLYGAMY BILL. The bill repeals the charter of the Mormon Church and instructs the Attorney-General to institute proceedings to recover property not acquired by that corporation in accordance with the laws of the United States. It permits the husband or wife to testify in all prosecutions for polygamy. Every marriage is to be made a matter of public record. Suffrage is denied to women. The secrecy of the ballot is secured. The jurisdiction of Probate Courts in Utah is limited to probate business, thus leaving all civil business to the United States Courts. All illegitimate children under this act are disinherited. Prosecution for adultery is permitted upon complaint of others than the husband or wife. THE STATUS OF POLYGAMY IS MADE CRIMINAL. The President is empowered to grant amnesty in all cases under the act. The judgments of the Territorial court under this act and that of March 23 may be reviewed by the Supreme Court. The militia laws of Utah and the militia are brought under the laws of the United States. All special grants by the Territory and State of Deseret, to private persons or corporations, of rights in and to any part of the public domain are repealed. The dower right of the widow is reestab-

lished. The redistricting of the Territory for election purposes is provided for, and the registration of voters is to remain under the control of the UTAH COMMISSION until any improvements or provisions shall have been made by the legislative assembly and approved by Congress. Every male over 21 years of age is to appear before the Probate Court and register himself, giving his full name and business, and if married the name of his lawful wife, and is to take oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and to obey the laws thereof, especially the two anti-Mormon acts of 1882 and 1887. No person who has not complied with these requirements, or who has been convicted of a violation of either of them, shall be permitted to vote, to serve on a jury, nor to hold any office of trust or emolument in the Territory. The legislative councils are to be appointed by the President and affirmed by the Senate. A new office of Commissioner of Schools is created by the bill. This bill became A LAW WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE.—During the closing days of Congress a bill was passed REPEALING THE TENURE OF OFFICE ACT. This act required the consent of the Senate for the removal of officers, as well as for their appointment, and was a relic of the fight in 1867 between President Johnson and the Senate.—Among the other laws passed and signed by the President were a bill GRANTING LANDS IN SEVERALTY TO THE INDIANS, a bill REFERRING ALL PRIVATE CLAIMS to the Court of Claims, and a bill authorizing the President to take SEVERE RETALIATORY MEASURES AGAINST CANADA in the fisheries dispute.—Among the bills which failed in the last hours of Congress were the FORTIFICATIONS BILL, because of a disagreement in the Conference Committee, and the RIVER AND HARBOR BILL, which failed to become a law because it was NOT SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT within the required time. This bill contained not only the usual log-rolling schemes, but committed the Government to the Hennepin Canal scheme.—THE BLAIR EDUCATION BILL WAS SHELVED by the House in January.—The Senate in February passed three bills appropriating \$21,800,000 for the BETTER EQUIPMENT OF THE NAVY AND FOR COAST DEFENCES, but they were not agreed to by the House.—SENATOR SHERMAN, during the closing days of the session, RESIGNED the Presidency, *pro tempore*, of the Senate, and Senator Ingalls was elected his successor.—The Platt resolution for OPEN EXECUTIVE SESSIONS was laid on the table by the Senate in December by a vote of 33 to 21.

THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL.—One of the most notable pieces of legislation before the Forty-ninth Congress was the Dependent Pension Bill, which was passed by the Senate and House in January. The salient feature of the measure was that all



persons who have served three months or more in the military or naval service of the United States in any war in which the United States has been engaged, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now and may be hereafter suffering mental or physical disability, not the result of their vicious habits or gross carelessness, which incapacitates them from the performance of labor in such a degree as to render them unable to earn a support, and who are DEPENDENT UPON THEIR OWN DAILY LABOR FOR SUPPORT, shall upon making due proof of the fact be placed on the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive \$12.00 per month.—This bill was supported by a powerful lobby of pension claim agents, but the sentiment of the country was aroused against it by a vigorous NEWSPAPER ATTACK (led by the New York *Evening Post*). Democratic and Republican newspapers alike joined in calling upon the President to veto the bill, and many eminent soldiers protested against an act which would tend to pauperize so many surviving veterans. This bill had PASSED THE SENATE BY A PRACTICALLY UNANIMOUS VOTE, and passed the House by a vote of 180 ayes to 76 nays, the affirmative consisting of 115 Republicans and 65 Democrats. The negative vote was entirely Democratic.—THE PRESIDENT on February 11 VETOED THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL in a strong message, in which he showed that the bill was so loosely drawn as to put a premium on fraud on the part of new applicants, and to tempt pensioners receiving less than \$12.00 a month to stop working and claim the larger allowance. He said that he could not believe that the vast peaceful army of Union soldiers desired at this time to be con-founded with those who through such a bill were willing to be objects of simple charity. He enforced the consideration which the examination of private pension bills had impressed upon him, that already in the matter of procuring pensions there existed a widespread disregard of truth and good faith stimulated by those whose agents undertake to establish claims for pensions. He declared that this bill would be A FURTHER PREMIUM ON DISHONESTY AND MENDACITY. Referring to the history of the Dependent Pension Bill for Revolutionary soldiers, he showed how far below the actual expenditures all Congressional estimates have invariably fallen. Finally he called attention to the fact that while American citizens had been proud that this country was not put to the expense of maintaining A LARGE STANDING ARMY IN PEACE, yet we are still living under a system of war taxation which ought to be reduced, but which could not be reduced if this bill should become a law. The President's veto received the PRAISE OF THE INFLUENTIAL PRESS OF ALL PARTIES when not blinded by intensely partisan prejudices.—

The House Committee on invalid pensions made a unanimous report favoring the passage of the Dependent Pension Bill over the President's veto, but the House on February 24 REFUSED TO PASS THE BILL OVER THE VETO by a vote of 175 ayes to 125 nays, not the necessary two-thirds. 137 Republicans and 38 Democrats voted for the bill. 20 of these Democrats have not been reelected to the Fiftieth Congress. The Republican members of the House all voted to override the veto. 28 Democrats who voted for the bill on its first passage changed their votes to the negative, in order to sustain the President.—During this session of Congress the President VETOED A NUMBER OF PRIVATE PENSION BILLS which had been passed for insufficient reasons.—Another NOTABLE VETO of the President's was, on February 16, that of the bill to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to make a SPECIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SEEDS in the drought-stricken counties of Texas, which provided for an appropriation of \$10,000 for that purpose. The President in his message said: "I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution, and I do not believe that the power and duty of the general government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering, which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. The lesson should be constantly enforced that THOUGH THE PEOPLE SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT SUPPORT THE PEOPLE."

TARIFF REFORM.—The tone of the President's message on the tariff question encouraged revenue reformers in Congress to make an effort to proceed as speedily as possible to the consideration of the MORRISON BILL, which was standing on the House calendar at the beginning of the session.—In the Senate the tariff question was brought to the front on the second day of the session by a resolution offered by Senator Dawes (Rep.), Massachusetts, that "The Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire and report as soon as practicable what specific reduction can be made in customs duties and internal taxes which will in their judgment reduce the receipts to the necessary and economical expenditures of the Government without impairing the prosperity and development of home industries or the compensation of home labor."—On December 9 SENATOR MORRILL OPENED THE TARIFF DEBATE by making aggressive war on those who sought to modify the existing tariff. Senator Dawes followed him in a similar strain on December 13.—On December 18 Mr. MORRISON (Dem.), of Illinois, moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider revenue bills. The MOTION WAS DEFEATED by 149 to 154. There were some changes in the record of June 18 last, when the vote was 140 to 157. 26 Democrats voted in the negative, follow-



ing the lead of Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania. Six Republicans voted in the affirmative. These included the Minnesota delegation with the exception of Gilfillan. Louisiana voted against consideration.—The protection Democrats made a pretence of framing a bill which they claimed would reduce the revenue about \$55,000,000, but the bill was not acted upon by the House. In the hurry of the closing weeks of the session ALL ATTEMPTS AT TARIFF REFORM WERE ABANDONED and Congress adjourned on March 4 without any action on the important subject of the reduction of the surplus, to which both parties had been substantially pledged.

**ELECTION RESULTS.**—Elections were held throughout the country on November 2. An entire HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES was chosen as follows: Republicans, 152, Democrats, 168, Labor and Independents, 4, vacant, 1. In the last house there were 138 Republicans, 182 Democrats, 2 Greenback Labor, and 3 vacant seats at the close of the session. A feature of the Congressional elections was the defeat of FRANK HURD, Free Trader in Ohio, of WILLIAM R. MORRISON, Free Trader, and the reelection of SPEAKER CARLISLE from Kentucky by a greatly reduced majority.—ELECTIONS FOR SENATOR have been held in many of the State legislatures, and the complexion of that body in the Fiftieth Congress will be as follows: Republicans, 39, Democrats, 37. The titles of Mr. Finley, of Florida, Mr. Turpie, of Indiana, and Mr. Lucas, of West Virginia, will probably be disputed.—Among the significant features of the State elections were the following: in MASSACHUSETTS, Ames (Rep.) was elected Governor by about 9,000 plurality, which was a reduction of the Republican plurality in 1885 of 12,000. This result was due to a large INDEPENDENT REVOLT against the machine methods of Massachusetts Republicans. IN INDIANA, on the other hand, Robertson (Rep.) was elected Lieutenant-Governor by 3,324 plurality, a change from the Democratic plurality of 7,300.—In NEW YORK Rufus W. Peckham was elected Judge of the Court of Appeals by a plurality of 7,700. The chief interest of the election centred in the contest for MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY, which resulted as follows: Hewitt (United Dem.), 90,552; George (Labor), 68,110; Roosevelt (Rep.), 60,435. The canvass made by Henry George, the Labor candidate, had been a very vigorous one, and the size of his vote was a surprise to political leaders of all parties. The Republicans secured the majority of the NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.—All the SOUTHERN STATES returned heavy Democratic majorities, except Virginia, which in its Congressional vote showed heavy Republican gains.—In Minnesota, McGill (Rep.) was elected by a small plurality of 2,400.—The LABOR VOTE IN ILLINOIS WAS

34,000, of which 25,000 were cast in Cook County. 9 Labor candidates were sent to the Legislature.—IN WISCONSIN, notwithstanding the efforts of the Labor party against him, Governor Rusk was reelected by 18,700 plurality. A constitutional amendment giving women the right of suffrage in school matters was adopted. Seven Labor candidates were elected to the Legislature.—IN CALIFORNIA, Bartlett (Dem.) was elected Governor by a plurality of 654 votes. IN NORTH CAROLINA the Republicans and Independent Democrats have a majority of 4 in the House of Representatives. The Democrats, however, control the Senate. The Legislature is a tie on joint ballot.—Several important elections were held on April 4. The Prohibition amendment was defeated in Michigan by about 4,000 votes. Among the remarkable results of municipal elections was the choice of REPUBLICAN MAYORS IN CINCINNATI AND CHICAGO, which have long been Democratic.—Through an Independent revolt a DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR has been ELECTED IN RHODE ISLAND.

**LABOR TROUBLES.** During the past six months there has been a DIMINUTION OF THE NUMBER OF STRIKES. The Knights of Labor have been less aggressive and more reasonable. Grand Master Powderly seems to have lost considerable of his power, and certain internal dissensions have threatened the Order.—There was, however, a big STRIKE OF PORK PACKERS in Chicago, in November. They decided, after a week's ineffectual contest, to return to work on the order of Mr. Barry, who represented Mr. Powderly. The strikers did not gain any of the concessions which they claimed.—One of the severest strikes grew out of the BOYCOTT in New York City of the OLD DOMINION COMPANY'S steamboats. It resulted in a general strike of FREIGHT HANDLERS and coal handlers. New York was for a time threatened with a serious coal famine. The strike was ended about the middle of February by the complete defeat of the strikers. Fully 4,000 of them were left idle after the strike was declared ended, their places having been filled by new men.—In February BOSTON suffered from several STREET CAR STRIKES, which resulted in occasional disorder.—Two judicial decisions were rendered during the last week of February, declaring the ILLEGALITY OF THE BOYCOTT. The United States Circuit Court in New York City, in the action of the Old Dominion Steamship Company against the Ocean Association and organization of freight handlers, laid down the doctrine that "all associations designed to interfere with the perfect freedom of employers in the management and control of their lawful business, or to dictate in any particular the terms on which their business shall be conducted, by means of threats of injury or loss, by inter-

ference with their profit or traffic, or with their lawful employment of other persons, or designed to abridge any of these rights, are illegal combinations or associations."—The Supreme Court of Connecticut established the same principle in a test case of the New Haven *Journal and Courier* against four members of a typographical union of that city.—The Committee of the House of Representatives, which investigated the STRIKE OF 1886 on the Southwestern railroad system, has reported that the loss to the 9,000 strikers was \$900,000; to the non-striking employes who were deprived of work, not less than \$500,000; and to the Missouri Pacific, \$2,800,000.

#### IMPORTANT COURT DECISIONS.

—The United States Supreme Court, on October 25th, rendered a decision of great importance on the subject of INTER-STATE COMMERCE. The majority of the court say in brief: "We must therefore hold that it is not and never has been the deliberate opinion of the majority of this court that the statute of the State which attempts to regulate the affairs and charges of railroad companies within its limits, for the transportation which constitutes an object of importance among the states, is a valid law." The case came up from Illinois, and was known as the Wabash Railroad Case. The charge was that the Wabash had, in violation of a statute of the State of Illinois, been guilty of an unjust discrimination in its charges for the transportation of freight.—The judges of the United States Court at Cincinnati, on November 11, rendered a decision in the celebrated suit of the government against the American BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY. They decided that the court had no jurisdiction in the case as presented by the Government counsel, and that the Bell Company had no agent in Ohio. As a consequence, the suit was thrown out of court without prejudice. The result was that the suit had to be brought against the Company in Massachusetts. Such proceedings have been instituted.—The Supreme Court of the United States, on November 15, decided that the CHOCTAW NATION is entitled to judgment for \$3,103,000 against the United States for all existing claims.—The United States Supreme Court, on December 6, decided that a person who has been brought within the jurisdiction of the court by virtue of PROCEEDINGS UNDER AN EXTRADITION TREATY can only be tried for one of the offences described in the treaty and for the offence with which he is charged in the proceedings for his extradition, until a reasonable time and opportunity had been given him, after his release or trial under such charge, to return to the country from whose asylum he had been previously taken under the proceedings.—Judge Peckham, of the New York Supreme Court, decided in December that the BROADWAY REPEAL LEGIS-

LATION of 1886 was constitutional, and that the mortgages are a lien on the property.—The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided, on January 3, that the law prohibiting the manufacture or sale of OLEOMARGARINE in that State is constitutional and valid. The Massachusetts Supreme Court has decided that a SLEEPING CAR COMPANY must guard its passengers from theft, and that it is responsible for the effects of a passenger which may be stolen.—The Supreme Court of Wyoming Territory, on February 3, decided that the bill granting SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN is unconstitutional.—The Supreme Court of the United States, on March 7, decided that a LICENSE TAX imposed by one State on TRAVELLING SALESMEN from another State is an interference with Inter-State commerce, and therefore unconstitutional.

THE INDIANS.—The Indian CONFERENCE AT LAKE MOHONK, in October, adopted a resolution praising President Cleveland for his public and private utterances expressing his interest in securing justice, education, and ultimately citizenship for the Indians; for his revocation of the order opening to white settlers the Crow Creek Reservation, and the ejection from Indian lands of all intruders. They recommended the APPLICATION OF CIVIL SERVICE RULES TO THE INDIAN SERVICE.—The Interior Department issued an order in October, that Indian Agents should not make application for passes to railroad companies, and should not, as a rule, accept favors from corporations. Great difficulty has been found in obtaining Indian Agents of the right character, because of the inadequate compensation which the law allows.—In his ANNUAL REPORT, SECRETARY LAMAR, of the Interior, showed that during the past year less than 100 of the 260,000 Indians in this country had been in open opposition to the Government. He gave statistics showing that the Indians were making REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION. Local tribunals, styled Courts of Indian Offences, presided over by Indian judges, have been established upon many reservations, and are doing good work. The allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians has been proceeding steadily.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.—The National Executive Committee of the ANTI-SALOON REPUBLICANS issued an address to the Republicans of the nation just before the November elections, in which they said: "The prestige, resources, and championship of a great historical party are needed on the side of the home and the public welfare. The Republican party is called to this place and work, and called by a cause as genuine and majestic as that which summoned it into existence."—AN IMPORTANT DECISION in a liquor case was rendered in Dubuque, Iowa,

in November, by Judge Shiras of the United States District Court. He decided in effect that saloon-keepers and brewers cannot be deprived of their property without just compensation.—The Ohio Supreme Court, on December 16, rendered a decision sustaining the CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE DOW LIQUOR TAX LAW in all its features, including tax and licn provisions.—In the New York Legislature, a vigorous fight was made by the friends of high license, under the lead of Assemblyman Crosby. A bill, as reported to the Assembly by the Excise Committee, placed the wine license at \$100, beer license, \$100; druggist license, \$100; a grocery store license, \$50, and a regular saloon license at \$1,000 for New York City and Brooklyn. On March 15, this bill was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 65 to 51, the majority being entirely Republican. It was passed by the Assembly on March 23, all the Republican members voting for it but 4, and all the Democrats against it but 1. The bill passed the Senate on March 31 through the votes of the Republicans. Governor Hill vetoed it on April 12, ostensibly because it made the excise laws bear unequally in different parts of the State, but really for party and personal reasons.

OBITUARY.—The following persons who were prominent in American political life have died during the past six months: ex-President CHESTER A. ARTHUR, on November 18; CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, on November 21; ERASTUS BROOKS, on November 25; JAMES D. WARREN, Editor of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, on December 17; General JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN, on December 26; HENRY BREWSTER STANTON, the Abolitionist, on January 14; the Reverend HENRY WARD BEECHER, on March 8.

#### POLITICS—FOREIGN.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The outlook in Ireland became suddenly stormy about the middle of October, when Mr. John Dillon, at a great mass-meeting held at Woodford, County Galway, formally expounded the new policy of the National League, which was afterwards called the PLAN OF CAMPAIGN. Tenants on estates were advised to act together and refuse to pay any rent unless the reduction was accepted. If the landlords refused the amount offered, tenants were advised to pay the reduced rent into the hands of trustees to be employed in supporting those evicted. The meeting accepted the policy enthusiastically. It was only intended to apply the Plan of Campaign in cases where the landlords were unreasonable. The first point of attack was the Clanciarde Estates where tenants demanded a reduction of 25 per cent. and were offered nothing.—A TORY CONFERENCE was held at Bradford, England, on October 26, 800

delegates being present. IMPERIAL FEDERATION was adopted as an article of the Conservative faith. The event of the meeting was a speech by Lord Randolph Churchill, in which he stated three things as a certainty: first, that the Government did not intend to grant Home Rule to Ireland; second, that it did intend to deal with local government in Ireland; and third, that it did not intend to be hurried in its measures. He frankly avowed that he had changed his mind as to the right of closure, and would, with the Government, now support such a measure to reform Parliamentary procedure. Lord Randolph also announced that the Government would follow LORD BEACONSFIELD'S EASTERN POLICY as closely as the changed condition of European affairs would allow. Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary of State for War, and one of Lord Randolph's old opponents, gave remarkable adherence to this programme in a public speech.—On the other hand, MR. CHAPLIN (who was a member of Lord Salisbury's first cabinet, and who was crowded out of the second by Lord Randolph), gave vigorous utterance to the old Tory disgust with the Churchill programme. He asserted that the government of the country had practically been handed over to Lord Hartington's party; that Ireland was not ready for the local government advocated by Lord Randolph; and that the proposal of the latter to establish closure by a bare majority was a complete right-about-face by the Tory party. Mr. Chaplin also advocated an import tax on foreign manufactured articles.—COERCION WAS SUDDENLY RE-ESTABLISHED IN IRELAND on November 26, and caused intense excitement. It was announced on good authority that the Government had resolved to suppress promptly all anti-rent and other illegal combinations; to curtail the license of the press; forcibly to suppress intimidation; to enforce the laws for the collection of debts; to proclaim all meetings called for certain purposes, and to arrest certain prominent agitators of the anti-rent policy.—As an active step a NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETING called for November 28 at Sligo was PROCLAIMED. Mr. John Dillon, who was active in proclaiming the Plan of Campaign, was summoned to appear in court, the charges against him being that his language at the Longford meeting on November 7 had led to an assault upon a bailiff, and resistance to the execution of decrees, and also that he made a speech calculated to intimidate. Mr. Dillon was called upon to find sureties for his good behavior or go to jail. As a consequence 4,000 more troops were immediately ordered to Ireland. THE FIRST SKIRMISHES took place on Sunday, November 28, and were more amusing than serious. The monster meeting, which was to have been held at Sligo, was pre-



vented, but several smaller meetings were held by energetic speakers, who got a few minutes start of the police. Several meetings were held in this surreptitious manner. MR. DILLON'S HEARING WAS CONCLUDED ON December 14th. The judge declared that the Plan of Campaign was absolutely illegal, and he ordered Mr. Dillon to give a personal bond in the sum of £1,000, with two sureties for the same amount each, for good behavior in the future, within 12 days, or go to prison for six months. Mr. Dillon said he would continue to carry out the Plan of Campaign in defiance of the Government, and that nobody had a right to assert that the Plan of Campaign was illegal until a jury had decided upon the fact. On December 30, Mr. Dillon deposited the £1,000 bail required.—One of the incidents of the Irish anti-rent campaign was an IMMENSE NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION at Loughrea, County Galway, on December 16. Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, and other leaders were present and made addresses. A large contingent of Lord Clanricarde's tenants were present, and when Nationalist rent offices were opened, hundreds of them came forward and paid their rents. Suddenly the police raided the offices, seized money, documents, and books, and arrested Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien, Editor of *United Ireland*, and afterwards Messrs. Harris and Sheehy, members of Parliament. The specific charge against them was that they were conspiring to induce the tenants not to pay their lawful rents. Each gave bail for £200. The police were instructed to pursue a similar course in the case of other Nationalist rent collectors. The arrests caused much excitement in England and Ireland, and were considered the beginning of the death struggle between the League and the Tory Government. It was decided to proceed against all those arrested on the charge of "conspiracy to defraud."—About this time it was reported that MR. PARNELL HAD NOT APPROVED THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN. In an interview on December 23, he said that if it should be finally and clearly decided by high legal opinion that the Plan of Campaign was illegal, still it would be only technically illegal, and only so because the right of combination granted to British workmen under the name of trades-unionism, had not been extended yet to Irish tenant farmers.—The trial at Dublin of Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, and other Irish leaders for their connection with the Plan of Campaign was finally ended on February 24, by a DISAGREEMENT OF THE JURY.—The Dublin Executive, about the first of March, authorized all local magistrates to PROCLAIM EVERY PLAN OF CAMPAIGN meeting and to demand the assistance of the military and police without awaiting sanction from headquarters.—One of the most criticised acts of the new Tory Government

was the REMOVAL OF SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, the chief permanent official at Dublin Castle, who for many years had been held in the highest esteem and respect by viceroy after viceroy. It was understood that he was removed because he supported the aspirations of the Irish people. Technically he resigned and was appointed Governor of Tasmania, but his resignation was forced. General Buller was appointed his provisional successor.—THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION held a remarkable meeting at Leeds, on Nov. 3. The President reported that 100 branches had been added to the Federation in the provinces, notwithstanding the secession of Mr. Chamberlain and his followers. The meeting carried by acclamation and with enthusiasm, a resolution declaring its confidence in Mr. Gladstone. The resolutions adopted declared that free public elementary schools should be established, and placed under the control of the people's representatives; that a reform of the registration laws is necessary, and that the land laws should be amended in the direction of creating a class of peasant land-owners; and that the only plan of home rule which will satisfy either the justice or the policy of the case, is that of AN IRISH LEGISLATIVE BODY, for the management of what Parliament shall decide to be distinctively Irish affairs.—The whole political situation brought about by the application of coercion in Ireland was suddenly changed on December 23, when it was unexpectedly announced in the London *Times* that LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had RESIGNED HIS SEAT IN THE BRITISH CABINET, alleging that Mr. W. H. Smith and Lord George Hamilton had prepared exorbitant estimates for the Army and Navy departments, that Lord Salisbury supported them; and further that the legislative measures for Great Britain proposed for the next session of Parliament were inadequate. The *Times* approved of Lord Salisbury's decision to support the heavy estimates, but said that Lord Randolph's resignation deprived the Government of its ablest member. It advised the renewal of overtures to Lord Hartington for a coalition government.—LORD HARTINGTON was immediately SUMMONED from Italy by telegraph. The bulk of Conservatives, however, were opposed to him as the successor of Lord Randolph. At a meeting of the British Cabinet on December 23, Lord Salisbury announced that Lord Hartington had refused to take office in the Cabinet, and strongly favored a Tory successor to Lord Randolph Churchill. The Prime Minister also told the Cabinet that he would not attempt to conciliate Churchill. The latter's reasons for resigning, as stated at the Cabinet council, included objections to allowing a sum, for increasing the defences of the ports and coaling stations, in the budget.—After about a week's delay MR. GEORGE J. GOSCHEN (Liberal - Unionist),



consented to JOIN THE TORY GOVERNMENT, succeeding Lord Randolph as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This fact was officially announced on January 3. Lord Hartington fully approved Mr. Goschen's course. Mr. Goschen was not offered the leadership of the Government in the House of Commons, which was nominally given to Mr. W. H. Smith. Before accepting office, Mr. Goschen closely scrutinized the Army and Navy estimates, in order to ascertain whether there were any grounds for Lord Randolph's charges of maladministration. He found, it was asserted, that the latter had been misled by wrong data.—In order to enable Lord Salisbury to complete a COALITION CABINET with the Unionists, LORD IDDESLEIGH, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had PROFFERED HIS RESIGNATION. Lord Northbrooke, Lord Landsdowne, and other Unionists refused to enter a Coalition Cabinet. Lord Iddesleigh accordingly considered himself entitled to his old portfolio, but the Prime Minister endeavored to shelve him by offering him the Privy Seal. This he rejected, and retired from office under a strong sense of having been ill-treated.—The CABINET CHANGES were finally COMPLETED as follows: Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; W. H. Smith, First Lord of the Admiralty; G. J. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Edward Stanhope, Secretary of State for War; Sir Henry Holland, Secretary of State for the Colonies.—A startling incident of this political crisis was the SUDDEN DEATH OF LORD IDDESLEIGH on January 12, while in the Prime Minister's room at the official residence in Downing Street, where he had gone to keep an appointment with Lord Salisbury. Lord Iddesleigh died of an affection of the heart. It is believed that his death was hastened by the rebuff which he had just suffered at the hands of his party friends. He was one of the finest types of the old school of British statesmen, who were scholarly, dignified, and courteous, as well as acute, aggressive, and vigorous party fighters. As Sir Stafford Northcote, he had led the opposition during Gladstone's Ministry from 1880 to June, 1885. When Lord Salisbury formed his first Ministry, the young Tory element, led by Lord Randolph Churchill, succeeded in having Sir Stafford Northcote decently shelved by giving him a high Cabinet office, and transferred him to the House of Lords under the title of Earl of Iddesleigh, thus depriving him of his leadership.—The REORGANIZED GOVERNMENT RECEIVED A SEVERE BLOW on the eve of the meeting of Parliament, when, on January 26, Mr. George J. Goschen, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, was defeated in the Exchange Division of Liverpool by Mr. Neville (Gladstonite), the vote being 3,217 to 3,210. At Liberal headquarters it was considered that

Mr. Neville's election had done almost as much as a general election could to clear the political atmosphere. Mr. Goschen was finally returned to Parliament on February 9 from St. George's, Hanover Square, where the Liberals made little opposition.—THE FIRST EFFECT OF CHURCHILL'S RESIGNATION on the attitude of the Liberal-Unionists towards the Gladstone party was a significant speech made by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain on December 23. He said that the Gladstonians had a great and, perhaps, a final opportunity: "We Liberals agree upon ninety-nine points, and disagree upon only one point. MY OPPOSITION TO MR. GLADSTONE'S BILL has been grossly misrepresented. I never said that I was opposed to the great land scheme. I never doubted that it was possible to devise a plan for the settlement of the land question. I am convinced that any of the three Liberal leaders can devise a scheme which will, in a short time, make the Irish tenant the owner of the land he cultivates; we could go even further in the direction of unity."—As a result of this and similar expressions of opinion, it was soon reported that Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Morley, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Lord Herschell, and Sir George Trevelyan would meet to discuss the Irish question and endeavor to arrive at a BASIS OF REUNION. By March 1, it appeared reasonably certain that a basis of agreement between Gladstone, Hartington, Morley, Chamberlain, and Parnell was being slowly formulated, and that, as the Tory Government was disintegrating, the CHANCES FOR A LIBERAL REUNION were rapidly increasing.—PARLIAMENT REASSEMBLED on January 27; the QUEEN'S SPEECH said: "The condition of Ireland still requires your anxious attention. Your early attention will be called to the proposal for REFORM OF LEGAL PROCEDURE which seems necessary to secure prompt and efficient administration of the criminal law. Bills for the improvement of the local government in England and Scotland will be laid before you. Should the circumstances render it possible, they will be followed by a measure dealing with the same subject in Ireland. A bill for improving and cheapening the process for private-bill legislation in England, Scotland, and Ireland will be considered. You will be asked to consider measures having for their object the removal of hindrances which exist to the cheap and rapid transfer of land, to facilitate the provision of allotments for small householders, and to provide for the readier sale of glebe lands."—IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, on the same evening, Mr. W. H. Smith, First Lord of the Treasury, gave notice of the Government's intention to introduce measures for the reform of the RULES OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE, and said he would ask facilities for giving precedence to the consideration of these

measures. The Government's proposals left the numerical limitations for enforcing closure the same as before, but transferred the initiative for demanding closure to any member who had obtained the Speaker's consent to make the motion. Motions to adjourn the House and discuss business of urgent public importance, which had been obtained hitherto upon the consent of forty members, were not in the future to be made without the consent of the Speaker, to whom a statement upon the subject proposed to be discussed must be submitted in writing.—**LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**, on January 27, explained to the House the REASONS WHICH LED HIM TO RESIGN from the Cabinet. He said he retired because the Government's Naval and Military estimates exceeded £31,000,000.—**MR. GLADSTONE** MADE A BRIEF SPEECH, in which he applauded what he called Lord Randolph's sacrifices in behalf of sound economic policy. He found no fault with the Government's foreign policy, but strongly objected to the severance of the Treasury portfolio from the Premiership, and the combination of the latter with the heavy duties of Foreign Secretary. He hoped the Government would oppose the oppression of Bulgaria by a foreign power.—On the following day **SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**, Chief Secretary for Ireland, made a long and able speech in the House, in which he said that the Government would soon introduce legislation for dealing with the condition of the poverty-stricken people in certain districts of Ireland. He admitted that he had put PRESSURE ON LANDLORDS to induce them to come to terms by reducing rents. Finally he FORESHADOWED COERCION.—IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS on the day of the opening of Parliament **LORD SALISBURY** SAID he thought the execution of Lord Randolph Churchill's policy at that time would inflict an injury on the public service, because it was a time when no one could tell what crisis might happen. He added that nothing known to him gave an impression that there was an imminent danger of war.—On January 31 Lord Randolph Churchill made a speech in the House, boldly declaring that he never regarded the LIBERAL-UNIONIST ALLIANCE as other than a USEFUL CRUTCH. He asserted that his resignation was not on the question of fortifying coaling stations, but of general retrenchment. **MR. PARNELL** MOVED the following AMENDMENT to the address in reply to the Queen's speech: "The relations between the owners and occupiers of land in Ireland have not been seriously disturbed in the cases of those who granted to their tenants such abatements as were demanded by the prices of agricultural and pastoral produce. The remedy for the crisis in Irish agrarian affairs will be found, not in an increased stringency of criminal procedure, or in the pursuit of such novel, doubtful, and

unconstitutional measures as those recently taken by Her Majesty's Government, but in such reform of the law and system of government as will satisfy the needs and secure the confidence of the Irish people." Mr. Parnell, on February 7, 1887, made an impressive speech on his amendment. He convicted the Government of inconsistency in the CONDUCT OF GENERAL BULLER AND JUDGE CURRAN, who brought pressure to bear on the landlords to reduce rents, while prosecuting the Nationalists for their Plan of Campaign. Mr. Gladstone supported the Parnell amendment.—On February 10 the MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON made a SPEECH FOR THE UNIONISTS against the Parnell amendment, in which he said that the real remedy for the agrarian crisis was to be found in providing larger productive employment for the people, or in voluntary emigration conducted and supported by the local authorities. Where landlords existed the land laws must be enforced. It would never be possible to get rid of the ultimate resort of eviction. The course of the Government in prosecuting the authors of the Plan of Campaign was right and straightforward. If the Plan of Campaign was not illegal, if its enforcement was not stopped, there would be an end to all relations between landlord and tenant. As to home rule there remained a steadfast, solid BARRIER OF 100 VOTES AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE'S SCHEME.—After debate, participated in by leading men of all parties, MR. PARNELL'S AMENDMENT WAS REJECTED on February 11, by a vote of 352 to 246. All the leading Unionists voted with the Government.—In outlining the Irish party's policy for this session Mr. Parnell frankly said that there would be NO OBSTRUCTION; that is, no deliberate organized obstructive measures. In general it was the intention of the Irish party to discuss the procedure fully and freely.—In the House of Commons, on February 4, Mr. Cremer, Radical, moved an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech demanding an immediate RECALL OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN EGYPT. Mr. W. H. Smith defended the Government's policy, asserting that the evacuation of Egypt would throw that country into anarchy. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 263 to 97.—The ADDRESS in reply to the Queen's speech was finally ADOPTED on February 17 by a vote of 283 to 70.—The House of Commons continued for several weeks a discussion of the rules of procedure. Mr. Parnell moved the exemption from closure of measures increasing the stringency of the criminal law in Ireland, but the amendment was rejected by 264 to 155. The RULES were finally ADOPTED on March 18, only 41 voting against them.—**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**, on March 5, was COMPELLED TO RESIGN the office of Chief

Secretary for Ireland, because of a cataract over both his eyes. He was immediately SUCCEEDED BY the Right Hon. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, Secretary of State for Scotland, who is a nephew of Lord Salisbury. The Marquis of Lothian succeeded Mr. Balfour as Secretary for Scotland.—About this time the Irish question began to cause exceedingly bitter disputes in the House of Commons. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain added an important element to the political excitement by a speech on March 9, in which, speaking for the Liberal-Unionists, he declared that **GROUNDLESS HOPES** had been raised **AMONG THE GLADSTONIAN LIBERALS ABOUT THE UNION** of all the factions of the Liberal party. He declared that the difficulties in the way were greater than ever. The Liberal-Unionists would never surrender an inch of their demand that the Imperial Parliament should retain its supremacy with members from every section of the United Kingdom within its walls. The central authority at Dublin must be subordinate to Parliament. They would never consent to surrender the Irish Protestant counties to the control of the Dublin Parliament against the will of the citizens of those counties.—**MR. GLADSTONE** about the same time announced that the Liberals might rely upon his **FIRM ADHERENCE** to the principles and bases of his **HOME RULE POLICY**, which he would not concede to the Unionists. This was supposed to indicate a failure of the conference with the Radical-Unionists.—On March 10 Mr. Gladstone announced that he would **LEAD** in person the **OPPOSITION TO THE COERCION BILL** in Parliament.—A sensation was caused in March by the publication of **GENERAL SIR REDVERS BULLER'S EVIDENCE** before the Irish Land Commission. He, in effect, testified that it would be a serious matter to attempt to suppress by force the right of tenants openly to associate for the protection of their interests, so long as their grievances were unredressed. Charges were made that part of his **TESTIMONY** had been **SUPPRESSED**, but the Government promptly denied this. The bulk of the testimony, as published in a **Blue-Book**, was favorable to a suspension of evictions, and to General Buller's plan of legal machinery between tenant and landlord.—**THE NEW IRISH COERCION, OR CRIMES BILL** was introduced in the House of Commons on March 28. Mr. Balfour explained its chief features, among which are the following: giving to magistrates power to examine witnesses on oath, even when no persons are charged with crime; giving the Government power to change the venue for graver offences from Ireland to England; giving the Viceroy power to proclaim dangerous societies found to be disturbing the peace; abolishing the jury system altogether for certain classes of crime; giving the magistrate juris-

dition with power to impose a maximum penalty of six months in case of criminal conspiracy and boycotting.—The speech of Mr. Balfour caused one of the most remarkable scenes ever witnessed in the House. He was jeered, hooted, interrupted and unmercifully gayed by the Irish members. **MR. DILLON MADE AN EXCITED REPLY**, in which he said that if he thought the people of England could accept such a measure, he would leave forever the country wherein no Irishman could live, except like a slave, or, "if the Irish people were willing, I would be proud and willing to lead them on to battle."

—The next day **MR. GLADSTONE MADE A SPEECH** in opposition to the bill, in which he said that it would aggravate the deepest seated and worst disorders. He called the proposals the "worst ever submitted to Parliament."—**MR. PARNELL**, on March 29, cable to the President of the American League that the bill was "stringent, tyrannical, and uncalled for by the state of affairs in Ireland." He appealed for American sympathy and support.—**LORD HARTINGTON, SPEAKING FOR THE UNIONISTS**, on March 30, said that the round-table conference had broken down, and that the Unionists were determined to do nothing to turn out the Government so long as they maintained the law.—In the early morning hours of April 2, **CLOSURE WAS APPLIED TO THE COERCION BILL** by 361 to 253, and it passed its first reading. The scene was one of extraordinary excitement and uproar. The second reading was formally moved on April 5.—Almost simultaneously with the Coercion Bill, a **LAND BILL** was introduced by the Government in the House of Lords. It provides for the abolition of dual ownership created by the Act of 1831. Liberals and Parnellites oppose the bill.—At the time of closing this Record, an intense Parliamentary battle is being waged, and the chances favor the passage of the Crimes Bill by about 80 majority.—**THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION** on the **IRISH LAND QUESTION** was made to the House of Commons in February. Its chief recommendations were (1) that the term of judicial rents, fixed by the Land Act of 15 years, be reduced to a statutory term of five years, all those whose rents were fixed five years ago having the right to go into court at once for a revision of their rents; (2) that all these holders be permitted to go into court and have the judicial rent fixed by the Land Commissioners.—The 21st day of June has been fixed as the date for the **NATIONAL CELEBRATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE**. She will attend in great state a service to be held on that day at Westminster Abbey.

**CANADA.**—The Canadian Cabinet in January decided upon a **DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT**. The elections were held on February 22, and resulted in the return of a



small CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY as follows : Ministerialists 112, Opposition 95, and 8 disputed seats not counted.—Two of the SEIZED AMERICAN SCHOONERS were released in January on the payment of nominal fines.—It is announced that the British Imperial Government has consented to send out men-of-war next season to assist in the PROTECTION OF THE DOMINION FISHERIES.—Canada in March proposed to the Imperial Government a settlement of the fisheries dispute by a JOINT COMMISSION, with Germany as referee.

BURMAH.—General Roberts took command of the British troops in Burmah during the latter part of October. Early in November they defeated the REVOLUTIONARY FORCES UNDER BOSHWAY. General Roberts, however, called for 4,000 additional troops to reinforce the British Army of occupation. After Boshway's defeat his followers submitted to the British authorities.

EGYPT.—In December the British Government decided to REDUCE THE EGYPTIAN STANDING ARMY to 10,000 men and the army of occupation to 5,000.—The Egyptian Government in February RAISED THE BLOCKADE OF THE SOUDAN, and commerce with that region was fully re-opened.

THE PEACE OF EUROPE.—During the past six months the PEACE OF EUROPE has, time and again, been threatened by serious complications between the various Powers.—THE BULGARIAN QUESTION has continued to be a source of annoyance and danger, but has frequently been dwarfed by more alarming indications of a direct collision between the leading Powers.—During the early part of October CITY ELECTIONS were held IN BULGARIA for members of the Great Sobranje to elect a successor to Prince Alexander. 480 Ministerialists, 26 Zankovists, and 15 adherents of Karaveloff were chosen, thus sustaining the Regency by a large majority.—THE SOBRANYE was SUMMONED to meet on October 27. Russia immediately presented a note to the Bulgarian Government declaring the elections illegal, and demanding the postponement of the meeting. The Government, however, refused to yield.—In the meantime GENERAL KAULBARS, THE RUSSIAN MILITARY AGENT, was travelling throughout the country trying to win over the garrisons to the Russian side. All the Powers, including England, formally assured Russia that they would not approve of the reelection of Prince Alexander to the Bulgarian throne.—GADBAN EFFENDI was sent by Turkey to advise the Bulgarian Ministry to concede the Russian demands and postpone the meeting of the Great Sobranje. The Government immediately held a Cabinet council and decided to inform Gadbán Effendi that they would no more brook Turkish than Russian interference. Prince Alexander requested the Sobranje to ignore him as a candidate.—During the last week of October the Russian

consul at VARNA threatened to order the RUSSIAN WAR SHIPS TO BOMBARD THE TOWN unless the prefect permitted free access of Russo-Bulgarian partisans to the Russian consulate, or if he tried to prevent the landing of sailors from the war ships. On October 31 he ISSUED AN ULTIMATUM to the Bulgarian Government, saying that Russians in Bulgaria were maltreated and terrorized, and if in three days he did not receive a satisfactory answer he would rupture his relations with the Regency and leave Sofia. The Bulgarian Government immediately ordered the various prefects to stringently protect all Russians. In compliance with the demands of General Kaulbars, all the PLOTTERS AGAINST PRINCE ALEXANDER WERE RELEASED. On the following day he refused to accept the Regency's answer to his ultimatum.—THE SOBRANYE MET AT TIRNOVA on October 31 with a prevailing feeling of despondency. The result of their deliberations was the ELECTION OF PRINCE WALDEMAR OF DENMARK to the Bulgarian throne on November 10. The public, however, received the news of his election with coldness. He is a son of the King of Denmark, and a brother of the Princess of Wales and the Empress of Russia. The Prince left the decision as to his acceptance with his father, the King of Denmark, and the latter on November 12 sent a telegram expressing thanks for the honor conferred upon his son, but DECLINING upon any condition to allow him TO ACCEPT.—On November 16 it was positively announced that Russia had designated PRINCE NICHOLAS OF MINGRELIA as her candidate for the throne, and the other Powers had unanimously approved him. Austria and England, however, had not approved and Russia did not insist upon his election.—During these critical times several important statements were made showing the ATTITUDE OF THE POWERS ON THE BULGARIAN QUESTION. Emperor Francis Joseph addressed the Austro-Hungarian Delegations on November 6. He expressed the hope that a pacific solution of the question would be reached, but appealed to the nation to make the financial sacrifices necessary for the improvement in the manufacture of firearms. COUNT KÁLNOKY, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on November 13 made before the Delegations a declaration of the Imperial Foreign policy. The tenor of his address was pacific. In substance he said AUSTRIA'S INTERESTS IN BULGARIA will be the maintenance of treaty rights. It is immaterial how internal affairs in Bulgaria proceed if the essentials of the Berlin Treaty are not infringed. If Austria is forced to interfere in order to vindicate the Berlin Treaty the sympathy and coöperation of the Powers are assured. His statement was taken to mean that RUSSIA SHOULD NOT OCCUPY BULGARIA; if she did Austria and England, and, in case of need, Germany



would interfere.—THE ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT was stated on November 9 by Lord Salisbury at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London. He said that Bulgarian rights were assured by the Berlin Treaty, on which the salvation of Europe depended. All the Powers were interested in the vindication of the treaty. The GOVERNMENT'S POLICY was shaped IN HARMONY WITH that of AUSTRIA. He trusted that under the influence of public opinion the infant liberties of Bulgaria would not be impaired.—A sensation was caused on November 18, when the Czar of Russia suddenly ordered General Kaulbars to leave Bulgaria at once, with all the Russian Consuls, if his note to the Regency demanding the dismissal from office of General Mutkuroff, the Commandant at Philippopolis, for his conduct in arresting a Russian Cavass, was not complied with. Accordingly on November 20 GENERAL KAULBARS AND THE RUSSIAN CONSULS LEFT BULGARIA.—A DEPUTATION OF BULGARIAN NOTABLES started in December to visit the Powers and personally place before them the facts of the Bulgarian situation. When they arrived at Berlin, Count Herbert Bismarck advised them to reach an understanding with Russia. Little, however, resulted from the tour of the delegation.—During the latter part of January and throughout February the startling RUMORS OF IMPENDING WAR BETWEEN GERMANY AND FRANCE diverted all attention from the situation in Bulgaria, and it was even reported that the relations between Austria and Russia had so much improved that the occupation of Bulgaria by Russia would not be considered by Austria a cause for war.—After several months of quiet in that region, the peace of Europe was again threatened by a SERIES OF REVOLTS AGAINST THE BULGARIAN REGENCY. On February 28 there was an INSURRECTION AT SILISTRIA, inspired by Russia. The government of the town was seized by the insurgents. Loyal troops, however, from the adjacent towns suppressed the revolt. While troops were absent from Rustchuk, a more formidable revolt was made there. The barracks were seized, and the officers arrested. The people arose against the insurgents, and the fighting continued during March 2, when the insurgents, who were attempting to retreat across the Danube, were compelled to take refuge on an island, and finally were captured. The KILLED AND WOUNDED AT RUSTCHUK numbered 100. Five of the conspirators have been sentenced to death. Rumors were also afloat of insurrections at other garrisons.—All the POWERS IMMEDIATELY MADE RENewed WAR PREPARATIONS. Russia was reported to be moving troops toward the Galician frontier. The report was revived that war was impending between Russia and Austria-Hungary.—Prince Ferdinand,

of Saxe-Coburg, has announced himself a candidate for the Bulgarian throne.

GERMANY.—THE GERMAN REICHSTAG was OPENED on November 25, by the reading of the Emperor's speech from the throne. The most important part of it referred to the SEPTENNATE ARMY BILL. He said: "By the law of May 6, 1880, the peace effective was fixed until March 31, 1888. Our military system, therefore, requires renewing on a legal basis. The Army is a guarantee of lasting protection and of the blessings of peace. A bill, therefore, will be submitted providing for an increase to take effect from the beginning of the new financial year."—The Septennate Bill fixes the PEACE EFFECTIVE of the Army until 1894, at 468,400 men, not including the single year volunteers. The permanent expenditure of the Army is placed at 23,000,000 marks, and the special expenditure at 24,000,000 marks. On December 4, COUNT VON MOLTKE MADE A SPEECH on the bill, which created a profound impression in Europe. He said that all the neighbors of Germany were fully armed; a state of things which even a rich country was not able to bear any length of time, and which might lead to decisive events at an early date. The preamble of the bill showed how far Germany was behind other States in the strength of her army and the taxation of her people. The French paid about double the sum paid by the German people, and an alliance with France would insure the peace of Europe, but such an alliance was impossible while public opinion in France demanded the surrender of two provinces, which Germany was strongly determined not to give up. "We have found it difficult enough to attain the unity of Germany," he said; "let us uphold it, proving that we are united. The whole world knows that we do not contemplate conquest; may it also learn that we INTEND TO KEEP WHAT WE HAVE, AND ARE RESOLUTE AND ARMED TO THIS END."—When the Septennate Bill went to Committee the Government's plans were materially modified. The Committee (or Commission) finally voted in favor of 450,000 men for three years, instead of 468,400 men for seven years, as proposed by the bill. THE DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT in Commission was due to the coalition of Progressists, Socialists, Centrists, and one Pole, against the National Liberals, Conservatives, and Free Conservatives. The Government declared that it was impossible to accept the bill as modified by the Commission. An adjournment of the Commission and Reichstag was taken until January 4.—The Reichstag was crowded on January 11, when the Septennate Bill, in its amended form, came up for second reading. GENERAL VON MOLTKE OPENED THE DEBATE. He said: "If any State can work

effectively to preserve the peace, it is Germany, which acts solely on the defensive. Facts show we must be strong and prepared for war. Should we, against our will, be involved in war, we shall be able to wage it; IF THIS BILL IS REJECTED WE SHALL MOST CERTAINLY HAVE WAR. A grant for a short term will not be acceptable."—PRINCE BISMARCK ALSO MADE A NOTABLE SPEECH, in which he said: "The past teaches us that we cannot count on peace with France as permanent. A Government may one day come into power at Paris which will make war upon us. The possibility of French aggression is a sufficient motive for the bill. Our FRIENDSHIP WITH RUSSIA IS BEYOND ALL DOUBT, and places no obstacle in our way in this respect. Our relations with England and Italy are such that I shall not touch upon them. In connection with the question of the increase of our army, they are in every respect friendly."—Bismarck several times asserted with warmth that the bill must be passed containing the seven years clause, or the Reichstag dissolved.—On January 14, the REICHSTAG ADOPTED THE AMENDMENT limiting the duration of the bill to THREE YEARS instead of seven, the vote being 186 to 154. The Conservatives, Imperialists, and National Liberals voted with the minority. Bismarck was prepared for the rebuff, and immediately drew from his pocket and read an Imperial message DISSOLVING THE REICHSTAG. A decree was issued that afternoon fixing February 21 for the holding of general elections for the new Reichstag.—THE EFFECT OF the publication of BISMARCK'S SPEECHES IN PARIS was to arouse the indignation of the French people to charge him with brutality in his utterances, and with endeavoring to provoke war with France.—All the German parties immediately plunged with ardor into the ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. Prince Bismarck and the Government organs proceeded to discuss the IMMEDIATE DANGER OF A GREAT WAR, creating a panic throughout Germany and Europe, until it became evident that these rumors and intimations were a part of Bismarck's electoral machinery, by which he hoped to coerce the German people into returning a majority of the Reichstag who would vote in favor of the Government's Septennate Bill.—One of the effective strokes of the campaign was the publication of a MANIFESTO OF THE POPE IN FAVOR OF BISMARCK'S DEMANDS. It appeared in the form of a despatch from Cardinal Jacobini to the Pope's Nuncio at Munich. The Cardinal said that, in view of the impending revision of the Church laws in Prussia, the Pope desired the Centre party to support the Septennate Bill in every possible way. The letter, however, had less influence than was first expected, and all the leading Catholic journals in Berlin

favoured the reelection of the former Deputies.—THE ELECTIONS, on February 21, RESULTED IN THE RETURN OF A MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF THE SEPTENNATE BILL, but in Alsace-Lorraine the Septennate candidates were defeated. This led to the adoption of severe measures in those provinces. Fifty-nine second ballots were necessary. A sensation was caused by the SUMMONING OF THE NEW REICHSTAG for March 3, before the second ballots were completed.—The new Reichstag was OPENED ON MARCH 3 by the Emperor's speech from the throne. He expressed great satisfaction at the benevolent attitude of the Pope, and asserted that the foreign policy of the Empire was directed to the MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. The Reichstag was further assured that the nation would put forth its full strength against any attacks on the frontiers, and such resolutions would materially strengthen the guarantees of peace. In diplomatic circles the speech was considered more peaceable than had been expected. On the following day Herr Presdorf was elected PRESIDENT OF THE REICHSTAG. Dr. Windthorst protested against the election of a president before the conclusion of the second ballots.—THE COMPLETE RETURNS OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS, including the second ballots, were as follows: Conservatives, 81; Imperialists, 39; National Liberals, 100; Centre, 97; New German Liberals, 34; Polish, 15; Protesters, 15; Socialists, 11; Guelphs, 4, Danes, 1; total, 397. 1,877,000 more votes were cast than at the preceding general election. The National Liberals gained 660,000, and the Conservatives and Imperialists more than 300,000 each. The New German Liberal vote fell off 447,000. The actual Socialist gain was 224,000.—THE SEPTENNATE BILL WAS RE-INTRODUCED on March 7 by the Minister of War, who said: "There is no doubt about the acceptance of the bill, but the greater the majority it receives, the more significant will be its success." THE BILL, AS FINALLY PASSED by a vote of 227 to 31, on March 11, fixed the peace effective force of the German Empire from April 1, 1887, to March 31, 1894, at 468,400 men, exclusive of one year volunteers. The infantry was fixed at 534 battalions, the cavalry at 465 squadrons, and the field artillery at 364 batteries.—On March 28 the Reichstag PASSED to its third reading of the ARMY BUDGET BILL by a large majority. This included the grant for the construction of military schools for non-commissioned officers, which the previous Reichstag had rejected. The Reichstag then adjourned till April 19.—EMPEROR WILLIAM'S 90TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY (March 22d) was celebrated with great enthusiasm in Berlin.—It was announced about this time that a NEW ALLIANCE BETWEEN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY had been signed, which placed all three of these

powers on an equality. All three will undertake the protection of the interests of each. The treaty is regarded as a guarantee of the peace of Europe for some time to come, unless Russia makes the breach.

**AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.**—The **AUSTRIAN BUDGET** for 1886-7 showed a deficit of 17,000,000 florins.—The **HUNGARIAN BUDGET** showed a deficit of 22,000,000 florins, due partly to the depreciation in agriculture caused by the competition of American wheat and flour.—**AUSTRIA'S ATTITUDE** IN THE **BULGARIAN DISPUTE** and the various international complications threatening the peace of Europe have been explained under previous subdivisions. It is sufficient here to say that Austria showed firm determination to resist Russian aggression so long as she was sure of the active support of Bismarck and the German Government. The declarations of the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers at critical times during the war discussions were apparently inspired from Berlin. The Austrian government continued to make elaborate war preparations throughout the winter. In January it was decided, at a grand Imperial Council, to ask the Delegations to vote extra credits of \$15,000,000 for the army.

**FRANCE.**—THE **FRENCH CHAMBERS ASSEMBLED** on October 14. M. Goblet, Minister of Public Instruction, asked priority in the Chamber of Deputies for a bill dealing with **PRIMARY EDUCATION**. Bishop Freppel moved that the budget have precedence, but M. Goblet was supported by 317 members and opposed by 224.—The Minister of Marine, M. Aube, presented a **BILL TO RE-ORGANIZE THE NAVY** at a cost of 150,000,000. 140,000,000 of this was for the construction of new war ships, and the rest for the construction of ports of refuge. It was also announced that the whole French infantry would be provided with new rifles at a cost of 100,000,000. These heavy military and naval appropriations caused considerable comment in European capitals.—In addressing the Chamber of Deputies on November 27, Premier de Freycinet said that the **POLICY OF FRANCE WAS FOR PEACE**, nevertheless France must not entirely abdicate her position as a great power. She must prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and must not admit that any Power can take possession of Egypt. Referring to colonial subjects, he said that France must content herself with organizing her present colonial possessions. The general policy of the Government comprised prudence and firmness.—THE **FOREIGN BUDGET** was then **PASSED** without opposition, an amendment which implied a vote of censure on the Government being rejected by 185 to 313.—THE **TON KIN CREDITS** were voted on December 1, after a special request by the Prime Minister, by a vote of 278 to 249. The Tunis and Madagas-

car credits were also passed by a heavy majority.—**FALL OF THE FREYCINET MINISTRY.** On December 3, in the Chamber of Deputies, M. Sarrien, Minister of the Interior, spoke in opposition to the motion for the total **ABOLITION OF THE OFFICE OF SUB-PREFECT**, promising that he would introduce a bill providing for the partial abolition of those offices. The Prime Minister supported him, and reproached the opposition for seizing every chance to overthrow the Government. These Sub-Prefects are minor national officers who are really the local magnates and heads of a vast national political machine. The Government was therefore unwilling to throw away such adjuncts to political power, especially in view of possible elections. The Chamber, however, adopted the motion for the total abolition of Sub-Prefects by a majority of 13 votes, thus defeating the Government and causing intense excitement in the Chambers. That evening the **MINISTRY TENDERED THEIR RESIGNATIONS** to President Grévy.—**SEVERAL UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS** were then made to form a new Cabinet. M. Floquet made one attempt, but on December 8 advised the President to summon M. Goblet; the latter finally consented. On December 11 he announced his completed Cabinet as follows: M. **GOBLET**, **PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL**, Minister of the Interior; M. **Flourens**, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. **Dauphin**, Minister of Finance; M. **Berthelot**, Minister of Public Instruction; M. **Sarrien**, Minister of Justice; General **Boulangier**, Minister of War; Admiral **Aube**, Minister of Marine and the Colonies, M. **Granet**, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; M. **Lockroy**, Minister of Commerce; M. **Millaud**, Minister of Public Works; M. **Déville**, Minister of Agriculture.—In announcing the composition of the new Government, the Premier declared that he relied upon **CONCORD AMONG REPUBLICANS** in the Chamber to enable him to continue the work of the Government. He said he would follow the late Premier's foreign policy which the Chamber had approved, and promised early in the next session bills for such internal reforms as the Chamber desired. He asked the Deputies to vote his government a provisional budget, which was done on December 14, by 508 to 12. The provisional budget was for two months.—**RENÉ GOBLET**, the new Premier, is 58 years of age. He was a protégé of Gambetta, and is at present on friendly terms with M. Clémenceau.—During the latter part of December uneasiness was felt in Paris over the rapidity with which the Government was working to place the **ARMAMENT OF FRANCE** in the completest condition possible; the State manufactories were pushed to their utmost capacity. It was reported that Italy was arming and that Germany was increasing her troops in Alsace-Lorraine.—**GENERAL BOULANGER**



emphatically disclaimed about this time the warlike intentions which were attributed to him in Germany.—THE CHAMBERS REASSEMBLED on January 13, and M. Floquet, on assuming the chair of President in the Chamber of Deputies, said he hoped all would be animated by patriotic emulation to work for the progress of National institutions, in the first rank of which the Government placed the Army. In a test vote on January 17 PREMIER GOBLET WAS SUSTAINED BY 273 TO 220.—THE WAR RUMORS from the Continent increased on January 24, so that there was a semi-panic on the London Stock Exchange, and a sharp decline on the European Bourses.—THE PANIC WAS INCREASED about January 31, when the Berlin *Post* (semi official), in a leading article entitled "ON THE EDGE OF THE KNIFE," said : " The position of General Boulanger is now not only strengthened, but is becoming unassailable. He is master of the situation to a degree that neither Thiers nor Gambetta ever was. He can only govern the situation by keeping up the warlike impetus he has given to it. The impression left on the minds of all observers is that the armaments of France having been pushed forward with feverish energy, Boulanger no longer has the power to lead the people back to peace. If he attempted to do so he would have to quit his post burdened with reproach for having led France to the brink of a great peril."—THE STOCK MARKETS OF EUROPE were very much depressed by this article, and a panic prevailed on the Paris Bourse. Everywhere the belief that war was imminent prevailed.—The French Chamber of Deputies, on February 10, adopted a motion requesting the Government to introduce a bill IMPOSING AN INCOME TAX. The adjectives " uniform progressive " were stricken out of the original resolution.—THE WARLIKE TALK IN FRANCE BECAME LESS VIRULENT after the result of the German elections, when it became evident that Bismarck and Von Moltke had used their warlike utterances as a whip to goad the German people into sustaining the Imperial Government at the polls. One of the most peaceful indications was the hearty reception accorded M. de Lesseps, who made a visit to Berlin during the second week of March, and was entertained by the Emperor and Empress. He brought back with him to France the assurances of the Emperor that Germany was for peace.—THE CENSUS OF FRANCE for 1886 shows a total population of 38,218,000, against a population of 37,672,000 in 1881. The population of Paris has increased only 75,000.

MADAGASCAR.—The Hovas in December paid the 400,000f. WAR INDEMNITY due France under the terms of the treaty of peace. A settlement of all points in dispute between France and Madagascar was effected in January.

RUSSIA.—The Government will introduce this year a TOBACCO MONOPOLY THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.—Full DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS were resumed BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA in November, and were hailed by the French press with unanimous outbursts of satisfaction.—A German review of RUSSIA'S FINANCIAL CONDITION shows that the national debt is 5,600,000,000 roubles. The interest on it has risen in ten years from 104,000,000 to 261,000,000 roubles. The paper circulation is 716,000,000 roubles, of which 117,000,000 roubles is covered by bills convertible into currency.—There were rumors in St. Petersburg early in January that RUSSIA had occupied a portion of AFGHANISTAN, but these were not confirmed. The boundary line dispute with England was finally announced as settled early in April.—THE BUDGET for the past year SHOWS A DEFICIT of \$26,000,000. A new loan of \$30,000,000 is proposed.—A GREAT NIHILIST CONSPIRACY was discovered at St. Petersburg during the first week in February. It is said that the conspiracy extended throughout the whole of Russia, accomplices being found in Kiev and Odessa. A plot was also discovered at Odessa for a POLISH UPRISING in the event of war between Russia and Austria, or Russia and Germany. Many Imperial officers were implicated, and 20 persons were arrested.—German authorities expressed great irritation in March because Russia announced her intention to INCREASE HER IMPORT DUES, and they considered the advisability of sharp countermeasures.—The Russian Government has recently made experiments with A NEW EXPLOSIVE, which possesses 15 times the destructive power of gunpowder, and does not produce any smoke.—The Nihilists became again aggressive on March 13, the anniversary of the assassination of Alexander II., WHEN AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE CZAR in St. Petersburg was nipped in the bud by the police. Persons with explosives in their possession were arrested on the route the Czar was to take to attend services in commemoration of his father. More than 200 PERSONS WERE ARRESTED in connection with the plot. It is also said that there was a WIDESPREAD SCHEME TO OVERTHROW THE AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT of Russia and establish a Constitutional Government. Russian land owners and tradesmen with a number of military officers were said to be in this plot. The effect of this new attempt on the life of the Czar was a general REVIVAL OF EUROPEAN WAR TALK, the argument being that the Czar would be driven into war in order to save his throne.—Attempts to kill the Czar on March 29 and April 6 were foiled by the activity of the police.

ITALY.—Italy sustained a severe loss in December by the DEATH OF SIGNOR MARCO MINGHETTI, the statesman, at the age



of 68. He was the intimate friend of Cavour, and Minister of the Interior under him. He aided with all his power in founding the Kingdom of Italy, and was Prime Minister from 1873 to 1876.—The WAR SCARE also caused considerable EXCITEMENT IN ITALY, and the Chamber of Deputies in December approved an extra credit of \$5,000,000 for the War and Marine Departments. The Minister of War declared that Italy was in position to mobilize 400,000 troops, not counting the reserves. He also said that the work of providing the troops with REPEATING RIFLES had begun, and 1,000,000 of them would be in use by 1888.—The Italian Minister of Finance announced in the Chamber of Deputies, on December 19, that the BUDGET OF 1885 AND 1886 showed a deficit of \$5,000,000. He hoped that the budget for the current year would balance, and for the following year would show a surplus of \$400,000.—PRIME MINISTER DEPRETIS announced to the Chamber of Deputies, on February 8, that his entire CABINET HAD RESIGNED, owing to the sensation which had been caused by his announcement a few days before that the companies of ITALIAN TROOPS engaged in the occupation of the region around Massowah, Africa, had been ALMOST ANNIHILATED in a fight on January 25 and 26. They had been attacked by Abyssinians. The Chambers at once passed a bill appropriating \$1,000,000 to send REINFORCEMENTS TO MASSOWAH. Of the 480 Italians in the fight not more than 50 escaped, and the Italians were forced to evacuate all their advanced positions. SIGNOR DEPRETIS undertook, however, the formation of a NEW MINISTRY, and the next week presented his complete Cabinet list to the King. This included Count Di Robilant as Minister of Foreign Affairs. For the time being this ended the crisis. The Cabinet was modified by further changes in April, Signor Depretis remaining Premier.—In November, CARDINAL JACOBINI, the Papal Secretary of State, RESIGNED, on account of ill health. The Pope appointed in his place the Nuncio at Madrid, Mgr. Rampalla.—The Pope, in March, asked Cardinal Manning for his opinion on the CAPITAL AND LABOR QUESTION, and will await his reply before writing his encyclical letter on that topic. Cardinal Gibbons, who has been in Rome, has been reported as saying that there will be no conflict in the United States between the CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—At a Papal Consistory, on March 14, the POPE CREATED FOUR CARDINALS.—The Vatican sustained a severe loss on February 28, by the DEATH OF CARDINAL JACOBINI, who had been Pontifical Secretary of State from 1880 to within a few months of his death.—It was reported in March that in return for the Pope's recent exhibition of friendship, GERMANY would act AS

MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE VATICAN.

SPAIN.—The Cabinet of Prime Minister Sagasta, which took office early in October, decided to SUMMON THE CORTES to meet about the middle of November, to consider legislation for ARMY REFORM, with a view to the prevention of revolutionary movements among army officers.—The Cortes, on December first, unanimously voted AN EXTRA CREDIT OF \$45,000,000, to improve the Navy, the principal part of which is for the purchase of torpedo boats and cruisers. The Government also presented A BILL FOR TRIAL BY JURY.—After a long and difficult diplomatic controversy, Spain finally succeeded in December in inducing Prince Bismarck to abandon entirely his proposal to establish a naval station at THE CAROLINE ISLANDS.—A red-book was issued by Spain in December, giving an account of the NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES in regard to Cuban commerce. It stated that the delay in concluding a convention with the United States was due to the fact that they wanted exclusive privileges, to the prejudice of England and other nations. Negotiations between the two countries were in February suspended by Spain until the American Congress should have taken action with regard to the tobacco and sugar duties.—In March the Government tried to induce Republicans to return to Spain and accept AMNESTY, the object being to put a stop to all revolutionary movements.—The Queen of Spain, in the first week of March, signed a decree making a REDUCTION OF 20 per cent. IN THE EXPORT DUTIES ON SUGAR AND TOBACCO SHIPPED FROM CUBA.—A DYNASTIC CONSPIRACY was discovered in Spain about March 27th. Many persons, including several palace officials, were arrested in Madrid, and in the provinces.

PORTUGAL.—A GENERAL ELECTION held in Portugal, on March 6, returned 108 Government, and 36 Opposition deputies; two Republicans were elected in Lisbon.

AFRICA.—HENRY M. STANLEY left London on January 20, for Zanzibar, where he organized an expedition for the RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA. Mr. Stanley set out from Zanzibar on February 24, with his expedition, consisting of more than 600 natives. He is taking the Congo River route.—Late advices assert that Stanley has arrived safely at the Congo River, and has started for the interior.

AFGHANISTAN.—A REVOLUTION OF THE GHILZAI TRIBE against the Amir took place in Afghanistan, in October, on account of popular discontent with the excessive rate of taxation.—The rebels were badly defeated in November by the Afghan general sent to subdue them, but disorders still continue.—In March the Amir was reported to be making efforts to raise a new army. This created RUMORS THAT HE INTENDED TO ATTACK RUSSIA.

## SCIENCE.

ASTRONOMY.—On November 4, 1886, Prof. Spörer gave to the Physical Society of Berlin some account of his observations on the PHYSICS OF THE SUN. He has found that the sun spots often have a large proper motion, from one to two thousand miles in a day. These movements always occur in the direction of the sun's rotation. He has compared the radiation of heat from a spot umbra to that from the ordinary sun's surface, and finds it less in the ratio of 10 to 15. The radiation from a spot umbra is to that from a region of special brightness as 10 to 18. He considers that the regions of greatest brightness are formed by the upward rush of heated gases, and that the spots are due to the return of the ejected gases after they are cooled.

On December 16, 1886, Captain Darwin gave to the Royal Society a preliminary account of the observations of the ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, at Grenada, in August, 1886. He described the photographic apparatus under his charge, and mentioned especially the negative results obtained when efforts were made to obtain instantaneous photographs of the corona. He stated, however, his belief that this trial is not conclusive against the possibility of obtaining photographs of the corona in full sunlight. He mentioned several conditions necessary to a complete test, none of which were fulfilled during the eclipse.

In No. 1 of the *Comptes Rendus* for 1887, M. Loewy applies a method already used by him for the determination of atmospheric refraction to a measurement of the CONSTANT OF ABERRATION. By the method, the images of two stars properly selected in different parts of the sky are thrown into the telescope by means of the two faces of a prism used as mirrors, and their angular distance is then measured. He claims that by this method the constant of aberration can be found with accuracy, and much more rapidly than by the old methods. A claim to prior invention of the method has been made by M. Houzeau.

In the *Sidereal Messenger* for December, 1886, Prof. C. A. Young gives the results of the measurement of the rotation period of the RED SPOT ON JUPITER. The period obtained is greater than former ones, and shows that the gradual retardation of the spot still continues. From observations of the rotation periods of other markings it appears that the red spot moves more slowly than the markings north or south of it.

Prof. Pritchard published in the monthly notices for January, the results obtained for the parallax of  $61$  Cygni from the measurement of photographs. Photographs taken on fifty nights were used. The parallaxes obtained for the two components were for  $61^1$  Cygni  $0'.438$ , and for  $61^2$  Cygni  $0'.441$ .

These results are stated to be only preliminary.

Between October and December, 1886, occurred a SUN-SPOT MINIMUM of unusual completeness. Twice for eleven days and once for eight days no spots at all could be observed.

At the Vienna observatory Palisa discovered on October 3, 1886, minor planet No. 260, on November 3, minor planets Nos. 262 and 263, and on February 27, 1887, minor planet No. 265.

At Clinton, N. Y., Prof. Peters discovered on October 31, 1886, minor planet No. 261, and on December 22 minor planet No. 264.

At Nashville, Tennessee, Prof. Barnard discovered a comet on October 4, 1886, which was also independently discovered by Dr. Hartwig, on October 5. The comet developed three tails. Prof. Barnard also discovered comets on January 23, and on February 15, 1887.

On January 18, 1887, at Cordoba, a great comet was discovered by Dr. Thorne. It resembled in appearance and orbit the great southern comet of 1880.

At the Red House Observatory, Phelps, N. Y., Mr. Brooks discovered a comet on January 22, 1887.

PHYSICS.—In the August and November numbers of the *Journal für die reine und angewandte Mathematik*, Prof. H. von Helmholtz published a most important paper on the PRINCIPLE OF LEAST ACTION. This principle, which has long been known to hold in certain cases in mechanics, he has generalized, and applied to all systems in which reversible processes are going on. He considers that its universal applicability is so far probable that it can be taken as a guide in future efforts to formulate the laws of new classes of phenomena. He deduces from the principle that of the conservation of energy, and a series of results which are known experimental facts; as, for example, the rotation of the gyroscope, Lenz' Law of electromagnetic induction, the known relation in thermodynamics between expansion with rise of temperature, and rise of temperature with compression, and Peltier's phenomenon.

The March number of the *Philosophical Magazine* for 1887 contains a new determination of the absolute WAVE LENGTH OF LIGHT, by Mr. Louis Bell, Fellow in Physics at the Johns Hopkins University. He used glass gratings ruled by Prof. Rowland's dividing engine. These were carefully measured, and especial attention was given to irregularities in the ruling. These introduced errors in the result which were computed and taken into account. The value for the wave length in air of  $D_1$ , at  $20^\circ$  C. and 760 mm. pressure, is given as 5896.08 tenth metres.

Upon this value Prof. Roland bases a

list of absolute wave lengths of the principal lines in the solar spectrum. The relative wave lengths were obtained with great exactness by the use of the concave grating. The values given are all larger than Ångström's.

The question of the PRODUCTION OF ELECTRICITY DURING EVAPORATION or condensation has again come up in the form of a controversy between Prof. Palmieri and Dr. Kalischer. Prof. Palmieri believes that he finds indications of electrification when water condenses from the air on metal vessels filled with ice. On the other hand, Dr. Kalischer, who first made similar experiments, finds no electrification, although his apparatus was most sensitive and well insulated. Dr. Franco Magrini has repeated the same experiments, and agrees fully with Dr. Kalischer that no electricity appears during condensation, and that the effects observed by Prof. Palmieri are due to electricity produced by accidental friction.

Messrs. Ramsay and Young have presented to the Physical Society of London and published in the *Philosophical Magazine*, accounts of their most recent results in the study of the RELATIONS of a LIQUID to its VAPOR. They are led to the conclusion that the molecules of all stable liquids do not differ from the molecules of their vapors, and that the difference between liquids and their vapors lies merely in the relative proximity of their molecules. They have also found a linear equation connecting the pressure and temperature at constant volume of several substances examined. The straight lines traced for different constant volumes on a pressure and temperature diagram are called "isochors."

Prof. Giovanni Luvini presented to the French Academy, and has since published, an account of his experiments to test the ELECTRICAL CONDUCTIBILITY OF GASES and vapors. He concludes that, contrary to the former opinion, all gases and vapors, at all pressures and temperatures, are perfect non-conductors, and that they cannot be electrified by friction with themselves or other bodies. M. Blondlot submitted to the French Academy, on January 31, the results of experiments which show that hot air does not resist the passage of electrical currents even of low electromotive force. He ascribes this fact to a process of convection.

F. Himstedt gives in Wiedemann's *Annalen*, No. 12, 1886, a new DETERMINATION OF THE QUANTITY  $v$ , the ratio between the electro-static and electro-magnetic units. He employed the method in which the capacity of a condenser is determined. His result,  $v = 30.07 \times 10^9$ , agrees well with some of the values obtained by other observers.

MATHEMATICS.—In the 24th volume, 4th number, of the *Mathematische Annalen*, Prof. Felix Klein, of Göttingen, makes an important contribution to the general theory of

equations of the sixth and seventh degrees. As in his treatment of the general equation of the fifth degree in his treatise "Das Iko-saeder und Gleichungen vom fünften Grade," he has brought these equations into connection with certain geometrical theories.

Alfred Köpcke, of Ottensen, has discovered a curiosity in the shape of a continuous function which has an infinite number of maxima and minima values in every interval, however small, and can yet be differentiated. The notion that every continuous function can be differentiated was exploded several years ago by the actual construction of continuous functions which have no differential coefficient. One of these functions—discovered by Weierstrass—increases continuously as the variable increases. But most of them have an infinite number of maxima and minima in every interval. On this account, perhaps, it has been quite generally supposed that the existence of an infinite number of maxima and minima precluded the possibility of differentiation. Köpcke's new function will correct this notion.

The general theory of surfaces of the fourth order has been materially advanced by Rohn, of Dresden, in a memoir awarded the prize of the Fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft of Leipzig for 1886. The problem of classifying these surfaces is of great difficulty because of the immense variety of possible forms. Geometers have recently given it a good deal of attention, but without much success. In his memoir, Rohn has made the first really valuable contribution to its solution.

CHEMISTRY.—In the meeting of the French Academy on November 8, 1886, the Section for Chemistry reported through M. Debray, on the researches of M. Moissan, which had for their object the ISOLATION OF FLUORINE. He operated by electrolysis on pure anhydrous hydrofluoric acid, and obtained a gas which is stated in the report to be undoubtedly fluorine.

Prof. Liebreich reported to the Physical Society of Berlin, on November 19, 1886, on observations made by him in connection with the precipitation of chloroform out of a mixture of hydrate of chloral with an alkaline solution. He found that the precipitation did not take place in the portion of the liquid near the surface. In capillary tubes it did not occur in the meniscus at the ends, and in fine capillary tubes did not occur at all. He believes that the chemical reactions were hindered by the surface tension of the liquids.

Mr. William Crookes read before the Royal Society, on February 17, 1887, a paper on RADIANT MATTER SPECTROSCOPY, containing an account of the results obtained in his examination of the phosphorescent spectra of many earths. He used a disk perforated with twelve apertures, which could be



rotated at any rate desired. An arrangement was made by which the electric discharge setting up the phosphorescence was passed through the vacuum tube containing the substance to be examined at a time when it was hidden by the solid parts of the disk. As the wheel was rotated the tube was visible through one of the apertures immediately after each discharge. In this way and by rotating the wheel at different speeds, the spectra of the residual phosphorescent glows and the duration of the glows could be observed. Mr. Crookes gives a long series of observations with different substances. Of special interest are the spectra of a series of substances which have been derived from yttrium by successive "fractionations." A salt of yttrium is dissolved and allowed to recrystallize. After a few crystals have been formed the liquid is poured off and a new set of crystals obtained from it. This process, by which portions of the salt which crystallize more or less readily, are obtained, can be carried on indefinitely. When the different crystals are examined they are found to give different phosphorescent spectra. When mixed together they give again the spectrum of yttrium. Some of these substances have also been obtained by Nordenskiöld, Lecoq de Boisbaudran and M. de Marignac. Mr. Crookes advances two provisional hypotheses to explain these very important results. The molecule may be considered as more complicated than has been hitherto supposed, and be really a group of smaller molecules; and the different arrangement of these smaller molecules in the yttrium molecule may determine the different properties of the separated substances. Or the new bodies may be new chemical elements differing from yttrium so little that only a slight separation has as yet been effected. Mr. Crookes shows that the electric spark spectrum for all these new substances for which he could make successful observations was identical with that of ordinary yttrium.

THE NATURAL SCIENCES.—Mr. Walcott has recently published, in a Bulletin of the U. S. Geological Survey, the results of his study of the Cambrian faunas of North America. In the Cambrian system he recognizes three series, the lower, middle, and upper, corresponding precisely to the tripartite division of the early palæozoic series made by the English geologists. A series of strata in the region of the great Colorado Cañon is believed by Mr. Walcott to belong to the pre-Cambrian period. The lower Cambrian fauna occurs in America only in the extreme North-east. The middle Cambrian fauna is distinctively American. Mr. Walcott describes in it forty-two genera and ninety-six species, of which several are new.

Professor Heilprin's investigations in Florida have led him to a conclusion as to

the formation of the peninsula, in opposition to the coral reef theory advocated by Agassiz. He says that "all the facts point conclusively against such a theory, and indicate that the progressive growth of the peninsula, at least as far as Lake Okeechobee, has been brought about through successive accessions of organic and inorganic material in the normal (or usual) methods of sedimentation and upheaval." The process of sedimentation seems to have been a continuous one, and no marked disturbance has visited the region since the beginning of its formation. The faunas seems to be derived by continuous evolution from the Pliocene and Miocene faunas of the same region. Very ancient remains of man have been found. Those found at Sarasota Bay are stated by Prof. Heilprin to be probably the oldest human remains that have yet been discovered.

Professor Gravis, of Liège, in the course of an elaborate memoir on the anatomy of the nettle, returns to the old problem of the homology of leaf and stem. The course of fibres in the stem and branches of nettle is regulated by a definite plan as to its most simple and its complex conditions; and he finds that the fibres of the leaf stalk and the veins of the leaf blade follow the same plan, and are subject to variations exactly parallel with those of the stem. The fibres of the leaf ramify from each other, and are related to each other, following the same laws of variation as do the fibres of the stem and branches *inter se*; and thus a complete parallelism is made out.

Dr. Berthold gives a purely physical view of the activities of protoplasm, showing that movements which have been deemed vital are susceptible of a much simpler mechanical explanation. He favors Sachs's view, that the plant (or animal) as a whole is to be regarded not as a combination of living units called cells, but as a larger unity cut up into microscopic chambers for strength. Many of the arguments which consider the proteids as the important part of the plant may be applied with equal propriety to water. If we deem protoplasm a complex fluid absent from no cell, and like every fluid tending to assume the form of a spherical drop, but distorted by contact with other fluids, with which it cannot mix (as in the case of glycerine with alcohol), and if we bear in mind that protoplasm is perpetually changing in its physical characters by reason of nutritive and chemical changes within it, we can explain amoeboid movements, and the emission of pseudopodia, and also the production of internal processes and walls, as for cell-division, and the curious spindles and stars that are observed in cells. All these, Dr. Berthold thinks, are explained as the mechanical results of changes in the surface tension of fluids in contact.

Dr. E. Klein presented to the Royal Society, on March 3, 1887, the results of his in-



vestigations on the etiology of scarlet fever. The inquiry was undertaken in consequence of an outbreak of scarlatina in London. It was shown that the disease had been brought to the city in milk from certain diseased cows on a farm at Hendon. The cows were affected with a skin disease and also a general disease of the viscera. From the ulcers of these cows a new species of micrococcus was isolated by cultivation, and by inoculation of this micrococcus in calves a disease was produced which bore a close resemblance to the disease which had been observed in the cows, as well as to human scarlatina. Further, in the blood of patients suffering with scarlet fever a species of micrococcus was observed identical in every way with that obtained from the cows. Both sets of micrococci affected animals which were inoculated with them in precisely the same way. Dr. Klein concludes that it is evident from these observations that the danger of scarlatina infection from the disease in the cow is a real one.

#### ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

The work of excavation and discovery in the Old World brings to us daily new light upon the civilization of the past ages. In EGYPT the great sphinx at Gizeh is being uncovered. His gigantic paws have been revealed. These are of late date, probably Roman, and are largely hollow, being covered with thin slabs. The chest has also a refacing of small slabs. To the east of the small pyramids, adjoining the Great Pyramid, a fine tomb has been discovered, probably belonging to the grandson of Khufu (Cheops). It is of special interest to the early history of architecture, on account of the columns in low relief which decorate the door to the vault being the earliest figured columns known. The capital resembles the Egyptian lotus capital and surmounts a plain cylindrical shaft with a base. The colossal statue of Rameses II. at Memphis, the property of the English government, which has lain so many years with its face to the ground, is being raised by a party of Royal Engineers under Major Bagnold. If the authorities approve, it will be erected somewhere near its present site. The Egyptian Exploration Fund having secured additional funds in England and America, its managers are continuing their good work. At Gemayeni, near Nebesheh, Mr. Griffith, in his excavations, came upon a workshop of art industry, where glass makers, bronze workers, and sculptors had been employed. Here he found the fittings for a portable shrine of exquisite workmanship; small figures, panels inlaid with glass mosaics, besides a number of plaster casts used as sculptor's models, and the moulds for the glass work. The donation of antiquities voted to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is said to be little, if at all, inferior to that just voted to the British Museum.

In GREECE the excavations of the French School at the temple of Apollo Ptoos in Bœotia have been brought to a close, and the important statues, bronzes, and terra cottas sent to Athens. The Greek government has now granted permission to the French School to excavate at Delphi. At Olympia, the southwest building, the largest yet uncovered, is now known to be the Leonidaion, built by Leonidas, son of Leotas. At Epidaurus the excavations have recommenced, and at Mycenæ the walls of a palace have been uncovered. Athens also continues to reveal new treasures from the past. Near the Propylæa have been found a bearded bronze head of heroic size, in style resembling the Æginetan marbles, a quantity of archaic terra cottas and the foundation walls of the archaic temple of Athena Polias. The English school at Athens opened in November under the distinguished architect, Mr. F. C. Penrose. The objects of this school are: (1) to study Greek art and archæology in their remains of every period; (2) the study of inscriptions; (3) the exploration of ancient sites; (4) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic. The plan also includes a school of classical studies and facilities to be afforded for the study of the Greek language and literature of every period. The building of the American School is now nearing completion, and Dr. Charles Waldstein has been selected as permanent Director, but the necessary endowment has not yet been raised, and earnest efforts are making to collect from the friends of classical education at least a hundred thousand dollars. The Italian government, instead of establishing a school at Athens, has been moved to appoint a salaried representative to report on antiquities, make researches, and collect inscriptions.

Moved by a similar impulse the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, PALESTINE, has taken action toward the establishment of a School of Biblical Archæology and Philology. Funds are solicited for the appointment of a permanent director, the equipment of a library and the organization of a museum. The plan includes the study of the Semitic languages, especially of Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, as well as topographical and archæological investigation. Our knowledge of the antiquities of ASIA MINOR is likely to be increased through the appointment of M. Guillaume in charge of a mission to Greece and Asia Minor. M. Guillaume, it will be remembered, accompanied M. Perrot in the very fruitful expedition to Central Asia Minor in 1860. It is to be hoped that the recent action of the Turkish Government, withdrawing permission from foreigners to excavate upon the Sultan's dominions, will not interfere greatly with the objects of this mission. Mr. Conder, author of *Syrian Stone Lore*, claims to have found the key to the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, and in the Academy of March 5th publishes trans-

lations of several of them, mainly invocations to the gods of heaven, ocean, and earth.

ITALY continues to supply new material for the study of Etruscan and Roman art. Of special importance for the former are the discoveries of Sig<sup>r</sup>. Falchi at Vetulonia. The tomb of a warrior, at this place, has revealed a very remarkable bronze model of a bark, on which are figured a crew and a number of different animals, readily recognizable; also a beautiful ossuary in the form of a temple, covered with plates of embossed silver. The discoveries from this place will be arranged in a special Vetulonia Hall in the Archaeological Museum at Florence. Under the Etruscan walls at Fiesole, a new variety of tomb has been discovered, in which, near the monolithic door, is placed a colonette on a square base. This custom is known to have prevailed at one period as a mark of nobility. At Todi, in Umbria, the tomb of an Etruscan lady of rank has furnished a quantity of gold jewels as well as objects in bronze and terra cotta. Of these a bronze tripod and a statuette of Bacchus, resembling the Marble Faun, are noteworthy. At Milan, a necropolis of several periods—Roman, Gallic, and Liguro-Etruscan—has been found, which is destined to throw new light upon the early history of that city. At Marzabotta an important Etruscan Museum has been organized. At Pompeii advances have been made in clearing the new Street of Tombs. Already seven monuments have been found, with marble statues and coins and inscriptions of the Augustan period. At Rome, outside the Porte Salaria, have been found a number of tombs with inscriptions and a large semi-circular monument to Menander; on the Quirinal, the remains of a noble house belonging to Tiberius Julius Frugi, and containing some III century paintings; on the Cælian, a fine bust of the Augustan period, with its pedestal and an elaborate mosaic pavement; in the excavations at the Villa Spithoever, an oval altar with high reliefs, the trunk of a statue of Diana resembling the Diana of Versailles, and the ruins of ancient *therma*. The Russian Government have decided to found in Rome a branch of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. A site near the Porta Pia has been selected, where a building will soon be erected.

In FRANCE, at Lescar (near Pau), ruins have been unearthed, apparently of the ancient town of Beneharnum. Here have been found the remains of a palace of a Roman military chief, remarkable for the large number of mosaics. The Cross of the Legion of Honor has been conferred upon Madame Dieulafoy for work done at Susa. This is the second woman to whom this honor has been given for services rendered to art, the first being Rosa Bonheur. Provincial French painting of the XVIII century has received recognition in the appointment of M. Paul Marmottan by the Ministry of Public Instruction to make a tour in the provinces.

French music has been honored by the statue raised to Berlioz in the Square Ventimille, and sculpture by the statue to François Rude at Dijon. The significance of modern French painting is marked by the opening of new galleries in both the Louvre and Luxembourg. Even a new Museum is to be started, the Musée des Beaux Arts de Paris, to contain, amongst other objects, a remarkably fine collection of tapestries. In GERMANY the Berlin Museum has been enriched by accessions of old masters, amongst them a portrait of John Van Eyck. The new *Institut für Alterthumskunde*, founded at the University of Berlin by Profs. Mommsen and Hirschfeld, has received Prof. Ulrich Köhler as third teacher. The heirs of the late Baron Meyer Charles de Rothschild have decided to erect a museum to contain his treasures, and thus open to the public one of the richest collections of goldsmith's work in the world. In RUSSIA the site of ancient Olbia is being explored by M. Sourouzan. Traces of streets, foundations of houses, and many domestic articles have been found. The ruins of the XII century Cathedral, at Vladimir Volynsk, are being laid bare, revealing tombs of archbishops and dukes, and in the sanctuary a fine mosaic pavement. In ENGLAND excavations have been made at Duffield Castle, near Derby, showing the keep to have been the largest of any erected in England in early Norman days, with the single exception of the tower of London. The dispersion of art treasures has been continued in the sale of the famous Duke of Buccleuch collection of engravings, which contained an almost complete series of the etchings of Albert Dürer and Rembrandt, mezzotints after Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Liber Studiorum of Turner. In the UNITED STATES the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is about to be greatly enlarged; the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is receiving the addition of a new wing to contain the newly acquired collection of Egyptian antiquities and a large collection of casts of ancient sculpture. Through the munificent bequest of Miss Catherine L. Wolfe, the Metropolitan Museum acquires a remarkably fine collection of modern paintings, with a liberal endowment for its enlargement. It has also received a number of paintings from Mr. G. I. Seney and Rosa Bonheur's famous Horse Fair from Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt. Princeton College is about to erect a Museum of Historic Art, in which will be placed the Trumbull-Prime collection of pottery and porcelain. Wellesley College has received \$100,000 for an art school and museum.

NECROLOGY.—The past few months have recorded the death of Meyer von Bremen, at Berlin, whose pictures of domestic life are widely known in this country; of H. Mark Antony, a vigorous Welsh landscape painter; of Joseph Melin, a French painter of animals; and Victor Deroche, a French landscape painter. Sculpture suffers the

loss of Ernest Eugène Hiolle, professor at the École des Beaux Arts, whose classical works gained for him many coveted prizes; while archæology mourns for the Roman topographer, Prof. Jordan, and for Prof. Olivier Rayet, whose *Monuments de l'Art Antique* has secured for him the gratitude of every student of ancient sculpture.

### LITERATURE.

RECENT BOOKS. — Among noteworthy books of the last few months may be mentioned the following: In POETRY, Lord Tennyson's volume *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After* (reviewed in the March PRINCETON); a new volume of poems by Robert Browning, *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, which exhibits the poet's characteristic vigor unabated; *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, edited with preface and notes by his brother, W. M. Rossetti; the two volumes containing the whole of Rossetti's contributions to literature; *Messis Vita: Gleanings of Song from a Happy Life*, by John Stuart Blackie, poems which, if they do not show the highest inspiration, yet, like all the poetry of the versatile Scotch Professor, are fresh and wholesome. Mr. Lowell has contributed poems to the *Atlantic*, and has published *Democracy and other Addresses*, which, besides the title essay and the Harvard Anniversary Oration, contains valuable critical estimates of Coleridge and Wordsworth.

There have appeared not a few important TRANSLATIONS. The Earl of Carnarvon has translated *The Odyssey of Homer*, *Books i-xii*. His blank verse sometimes creeps, but the version has a simplicity and vigor of style which will entitle it to an honorable place among Homeric translations, a list already so long as to demand a special bibliographer. Mr. W. J. Thornhill's *Æneid of Vergil*, freely translated into English blank verse, is too diffuse, often only a loose paraphrase of the original (Dublin: University Press). Mr. T. Rutherford Clark's poetical version of the *Odes of Horace* (Edinburgh: Douglas) shows great skill, and compares favorably with the well-known translation of Prof. Conington, to which Mr. Clark is naturally somewhat indebted for his success.

Dean Plumtre, whose excellent translations of Æschylus and Sophocles are well known, has brought out the first volume of his *Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, containing the poet's life, and a translation of the "Inferno" and "Purgatorio" in *terza rima*. The difficulties of this measure seem to preclude the highest success, but the work will be welcome to all lovers of Dante.

A translation of Heine's *Reisebilder*, by Francis Storr, has been added to Bohn's Standard Library. Also to the same, a fresh translation by A. R. Shilleto of *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 2 vols.; and a trans-

lation of Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations*, 1494-1514, by P. A. Ashworth.

The tenth and concluding volume of Sir Richard Burton's *Thousand Nights and a Night* was issued in January, containing 50 pages of translation, an essay of 140 pages, and a very complete set of indexes and a bibliography, making a volume of 532 pages. So much extra material has been acquired that Sir Richard proposes five supplementary volumes, two of which have been already issued. The production of the whole work has occupied a quarter of a century. Three volumes of Lady Burton's "Household Edition" are now published. The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has recently acquired a MS. Arabian Nights, which contains the text of "Aladdin," no Arabic original of which was known to scholars, whence there was much dispute about its source, and even its genuineness.

BIOGRAPHY, HISTORY, TRAVELS, ETC.—Two volumes of John Bigelow's *Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Putnam) have been published. In *Franklin in France* (Roberts), by E. E. Hale, father and son, the story of Franklin's nine years' diplomatic residence at Paris is told mainly by letters of Franklin, most of which have never before been published. William Temple Franklin, the grandson, who fell heir to Franklin's papers, published few relating to his later life. The whole collection of autographs was fortunately discovered in London and secured for the United States Government in 1881 through the late Henry Stevens. These editors are now availing themselves of this rich store, less than half of which has ever been printed. Franklin's *Autobiography* has been edited recently in France as a school-book for the study of English.

Prof. Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, 2 vols., will probably be the standard life of the poet.

Mr. W. P. Dickson has translated the two latest volumes of Mommsen's great history, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (New York, Scribner's).

Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, lately U. S. Minister to Persia, has written an interesting book of 500 pages, *Persia and the Persians*. He has also contributed the volume *Persia* to Putnam's "Story of the Nations" series. In *Persia As It Is* (London: Law) Mr. C. J. Wills, M.D., likewise writes his observations of Persian life and manners after long residence there.

The latest issue of the Palæographical Society contains nineteen plates, among which are,—Semitic inscription of Mesha, King of Moab, or "the Moabite Stone," 890 B. C.; the Demosthenes of the tenth century, and the Aristotle of the eleventh at Paris; the Cotton Beowulf; a Sallust written A. D. 1466, in the British Museum.

The Professors in Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational) issue an annual volume, *Current Discussions in Theology*



(Chicago: Revell), vol. iv., to June, 1886, 342 pp., in which each professor, in his own department, makes a survey of what has been done in the several fields of sacred learning at home and abroad, with ample summaries of the contents of important books and articles in the special periodicals.

Under the editorship of Prof. E. S. Robertson, Walter Scott, London, is issuing "Great Writers," a new series of critical biographies, in monthly volumes, at one shilling. The Longfellow, Coleridge, Dickens, Rossetti, have appeared. Meanwhile Messrs. Macmillan are re-issuing their successful "Men of Letter Series" at this same low price.

The *Encyclopadia Britannica*, vol. xxi., comprises ROT to SIA.

Part III. of the Philological Society's *New English Dictionary* extends to BOZ.

The tenth volume of Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography* (Macmillan) reaches to Thomas Clark.

EDUCATIONAL NOTES.—Harvard College celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary November 6-8. President Cleveland and many other distinguished guests were present. Dr. Holmes recited a poem, and Mr. Lowell gave an address.

Students of the University of Pennsylvania repeated their presentation of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* in the Academy of Music, New York, November 19, with full success. In the audience were Mr. Lowell, Dr. Phillips Brooks, Mr. G. W. Curtis, Dr. Howard Crosby, Mr. H. H. Furness, the painter Munkacsy, and many other prominent persons. The proceeds were devoted to an endowment fund for the American School of Archæology at Athens. In behalf of this same object lectures on classical subjects have since been given in New York by Dr. Charles Waldstein, permanent director elect of the school, and Professors Gildersleeve, Goodwin, and Merriam. The corner stone of the new building for the school in Athens was laid on March 12. United States Minister Fearn, Professor D'Ooge, the present director, and several foreign representatives made addresses.

The Cambridge Philological Society has adopted a scientific pronunciation of Latin to replace the arbitrary "English" method hitherto prevalent in England, and has taken measures to secure its general adoption in the University. This new "Augustan" method is identical with the so-called "Roman," long in use in the best American schools and colleges. The Oxford Philological Society has since indorsed the movement. It is to be hoped this carries with it a similar reform in the pronunciation of Greek in England.

A proposition to establish at Oxford the Degrees of Doctor of Letters and Doctor of Science, which have been introduced at Cambridge, was rejected by a decisive vote.

The Imperial University at Tokio, Ja-

pan, has 1,000 students enrolled, students of medicine predominating. German professors are at present in high favor; there are five in the faculty of medicine alone.

The seventh International Congress of Orientalists was held at Vienna September 27 to October 2. It was opened by the Archduke Rainer, brother of the Emperor of Austria. Five sections were constituted, Semitic, with a sub-section for Arabic, Aryan, African, Central and further Asia, Malayo-Polynesian. The papers read in the Egypto-African section were of great value and interest, particularly one by Dr. Krall, on the Egyptian name of Joseph. M. Naville displayed a copy of his completed *Book of the Dead*, and gave an account of his twelve years of labor undertaken for the society. He received a special vote of thanks. America was represented by Mr. Cope Whitehouse, who read a paper on a point of Biblical Archæology, Mr. S. A. Smith, with an Assyrian translation, and Mr. C. G. Leland on the origin of the Gypsies and the Romany dialect. The next congress will meet at Stockholm, in 1890.

MISCELLANEOUS.—A number of valuable manuscripts of Heine have been found, letters to Thiers, Guizot, Michelet, poems addressed to King Frederick and William IV., and a manuscript entitled "Napoleon III." The first complete translation of Heine's works into Italian, by Count Secco-Suards, is appearing in Turin.

The Goethe-Gesellschaft has purchased the valuable Cohn Goethe library in Berlin, which will be taken to Weimar. Professor B. Suphan succeeds Dr. Erich Schmidt as director of the Weimar Goethe Archives.

Professor von Treitschke, of Berlin, succeeds to the position of the late Professor von Ranke, as Historiographer of Prussia.

Karl Brugmann, who was called from Leipzig to Freiburg, in 1884, has been recalled to Leipzig as Professor of Comparative Philology.

M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, the veteran Aristotelian scholar, now in his eighty-third year, has brought out two further volumes of his translation of Aristotle, containing the *De Generatione Animalium*.

An orchestral and choral performance of Shelley's lyrical drama, *Hellas*, was given in London, November 16. The music composed by Dr. W. C. Selle, was inadequate, and the affair not a success.

A valuable collection of some ninety volumes of Oriental MSS. has been presented to Cambridge University, England, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They were collected by Rev. Dr. G. P. Badger, during a mission to Mesopotamia in 1842-4. They include copies of the Syriac New Testament of the tenth century, with other rare works, and furnish a representative series of Nestorian and other Syrian works in good and often old copies.



## ANALYTICAL INDEX.

**EXPLANATORY NOTE.**—Two new features will be noted in the index—first, to the ordinary analytical arrangement is added a classification of each subject a second time under the head of the *general subject* to which it contributes, giving analysis of each article, as, for instance, *Public Questions, Literature, Art and Archaeology, Science, History, Religion and Morals, Philosophy, Education*. The utility of this addition will be readily seen by a reference to any one of these general headings, enabling one at a glance to review the *whole field* under that head. Second, as an economy of time, dates and amounts are introduced, wherever practical, in the index itself. Special attention also has been given to the system of cross-reference, placing each item under as many different titles as may be appropriate to the subject.

PAGE	PAGE
<p>“A Touch of Sublimity,” a story. . . . . 386-409</p> <p>Administration, the. . . . . 414-415</p> <p>Afghanistan. . . . . 431</p> <p>Africa. . . . . 431</p> <p>African explorations. . . . . 275</p> <p>Africa's wars with England. . . . . 274</p> <p>Alaska. . . . . 133-137</p> <p>American architecture, course of. . . . . 200-211</p> <p>American literature. . . . . 283-285</p> <p>Antiquities. <i>See</i> Art and Archæology.</p> <p>Appropriation bills. . . . . 167</p> <p>Architecture, course of American. . . . . 200-211</p> <p><b>Art and Archæology—</b></p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">ARCHITECTURE, AMERICAN,</p> <p style="padding-left: 4em;">COURSE OF. . . . . 200-211</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Fantastic tendency, 200; spurs to invention, 200; demands of the public taste, 201; originality which needs guidance, 202; educating influence of an established architecture, 202; English Gothic revival of nineteenth century, 203; sincerity and continuity of effort, conditions of success, 203; French architecture, 203; American students abroad, 204; domination of English influence, 205; a lost opportunity, 206; impracticability of distinctively original American architecture, 206; difficulties of eclecticism, 207; danger in variety, 207; subordination of detail, 208; broad effect the test of excellence, 208; architecture of a city more important than that of its buildings, 209; responsibility of architects, 209; unity not monotony, 210; influence of individual men, 210; work of Mr. Hunt and Mr. Richardson, 210.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">RECORD. . . . . 435-437</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">Excavations in Egypt, 435; sphinx at Gizeh, 435; Egyptian Exploration Fund, 435; discoveries at Gemayeni, 435; gift to Boston Museum, 435; excavations of the French School in Greece, 435; es-</p>	<p><b>Art and Archæology—Cont.</b></p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">tablishment of English and American schools, 435; establishment of school of Biblical Archæology and Philology by college at Beirut, 435; antiquities of Asia Minor, 435; discoveries in Italy, 436; ruins unearthed at Lescar, France, 436; new art galleries, 436; interest in Germany, 436; excavations in Russia and England, 436; additions to the Boston Museum and New York Metropolitan Museum, 436; necrology, 436.</p> <p>Art, English. . . . . 276</p> <p>Astronomical photography. . . . . 354-369</p> <p>Astronomy. . . . . 432</p> <p>Australia, discovery of gold. . . . . 273</p> <p>Austria. . . . . 426-429</p> <p>Book Reviews. . . . . 133, 259, 277, 306, 412, 437</p> <p>Boycott, illegality of the. . . . . 419</p> <p>Britain, present position of philosophy in. . . . . 17-27</p> <p>Bulgaria. . . . . 426</p> <p>Burmah. . . . . 426</p> <p>Cable, Atlantic. . . . . 273</p> <p>Calabrian sketch. . . . . 230-240</p> <p>California. . . . . 137</p> <p>Canada. . . . . 273, 425</p> <p>Canadian fisheries dispute. . . . . 416</p> <p>Capitalists, encroachments of. . . . . 350</p> <p>Character, power of. . . . . 183</p> <p>Chartist agitation. . . . . 272</p> <p>Chemistry. . . . . 433-434</p> <p>Children of criminals. . . . . 92</p> <p>Christian government of United States. . . . . 35</p> <p>Christian morality. . . . . 287</p> <p>Church and State. . . . . 35</p> <p>Church history, English. . . . . 277</p> <p>Church membership, statistics of. . . . . 46</p> <p>Civil Service reform. . . . . 415-416</p> <p>Classification of criminals. . . . . 90</p> <p>College education. . . . . 131</p> <p>College life, German. . . . . 277</p> <p>Communitistic view of land ownership. . . . . 259</p>

	PAGE
Congress, work of . . . . .	415-419
Constitution, Federal, character of . . .	43
Constitutions, character of State . . . .	41
Convict lease system . . . . .	94
Corruption of legislators . . . . .	169
Corruption, political . . . . .	350
Corn Laws, repeal of . . . . .	271
Corona, solar . . . . .	362
Corsica in eighteenth century . . . . .	292
Court decisions . . . . .	420
Crime, growth of . . . . .	88
Crimean war . . . . .	275
Criminals, classification of . . . . .	90
Criminals, extirpation of . . . . .	87-97

### Criticism and Personal Mention—

(See also *Victoria's Reign*; *Norway and Denmark, Literature of*; *Contemporary Philosophy in France*; *Astronomical Photography*; *Necrology*.) Arnold, Matthew, 105; Bagehot, 190; Baranof, Alexander A., 135; Barlow, Joel, 286; Berlioz, 286; Burke, 190; Carlyle, Thos., 103, 193, 288; Coleridge, 280; Cousin, Victor, 138; De Tocqueville, 190; Doré, Gustave, 6; Emerson, 98, 103; Fielding, Henry, 280; George, Henry, 259; Gladstone, 72; Hegel, 26; Hodge, A. A., 28; Hugo, Victor, 1, 212; Hume, 18; Hunt, Richard M., 210; Kant, 26; Lee, Fred'k Geo., 287; Lincoln, 76, 84; Lowell, Jas. Russell, 281; Mann, Horace, 34; McClellan, General, 73-86; Mill, John Stuart, 22; Napoleon Bonaparte, 145-163, 289-305; Richardson, H. H., 210; Royer-Collard, M., 137; Scriba, A. M., 415; Scott, General, 77; Seward, Wm. H., 80; Spencer, Herbert, 22, 307; Stanton, Secretary, 82; Stephen, Leslie, 306-328; Taine, H., 410; Tennyson, Alfred, 265; Victoria, Queen, 271; Whipple, Edwin P., 93-105; Wordsworth, 280.

Criticism, literary . . . . .	98-105
Cuban commerce . . . . .	431
Denmark, literature of . . . . .	379-385
Discipline, reformatory . . . . .	96
Divorce . . . . .	157
"Don Finimondone; a Calabrian Sketch" . . . . .	230-240
Drama, modern . . . . .	13
Dramas of Victor Hugo . . . . .	11
Duelling in German universities . . . .	238

### Education—

EDUCATION, MR. LOWELL ON. 131-133	
What constitutes a university, 131; aim of college education, 132; the elective system, 132.	
EDUCATIONAL NOTES . . . . .	438
Harvard College anniversary, 438;	

### Education—Cont.

endowment for the American School of Archaeology, Athens, 43<sup>3</sup>; pronunciation of Latin, 438; Imperial University of Tokio, 438; International Congress of Orientalists.

### RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC

#### SCHOOLS. . . . . 28-47

(Editorial tribute to Dr. Hodge, 28.) Differences of opinion, 28; tendencies of the school system, 29; irreligious character of textbooks, 29; impossibility of excluding religious teaching, 30; proved by the nature of the case, 30; Romanists and Protestants, 31; common beliefs sufficient for needs of schools, 32; Roman Catholic textbooks, 32; no precedent for excluding religious element, 33; original character of common school system, 33; Horace Mann's views, 34; Christianity an element of our national law, 35; but the church separate from the state, 35; the state not committed to any ecclesiastical creed, 35; nor bound to support preaching, 36; all states founded on the religion of their people, 36; historic genesis of American political institutions, 38; character of early colonists, 39; basis of English common law, 40; Christian constitutions of the colonies, 40; first State constitutions, 41; position of statesmen, 42; the federal constitution, 43; recognition of Christianity in government proclamations, 44; recognition by law, 45; statistics of church membership, 46; shall the minority rule? 46; responsibility of Christian people, 47.

### STUDENT LIFE IN GERMANY,

#### REFORM OF . . . . . 277-279

Character of college societies, 278; duelling clubs, 278; signs of reform, 279.

Educating power of political parties . .	348
Education in Great Britain . . . . .	273
Education of the orator . . . . .	178
Egypt . . . . .	426
Election results . . . . .	419
Elections, the tariff issue in . . . . .	174
Elective system in colleges . . . . .	132
Eloquence, essentials of . . . . .	177-187
England under Victoria . . . . .	271-277
English architecture . . . . .	205
English history, recent . . . . .	271
Ethics of interviewing . . . . .	128-131
Ethics, physiological . . . . .	306-328
Evolution, influence on philosophical thought . . . . .	20
Explorations in Africa . . . . .	275
Extirpation of criminals . . . . .	87-97

- Education—Cont.**
- Fiction: "Vita Strange," 106-126;  
 "Don Finimondone, a Calabrian Sketch," 230-240; "A Touch of Sublimity," 386-409;  
 George Meredith, 220-229.
- Florida, geological formation..... 434
- France.....429-430
- France, contemporary philosophy in,  
 137-144
- Free trade.....164-176, 331
- French architecture..... 203
- French revolution..... 293
- Genius..... 181
- Germany.....427-429
- Germany, student life in.....277-279
- Gothic architecture of nineteenth century..... 202
- Great Britain.....421-426
- Heroes of fiction... 224
- Heredity and crime..... 91
- History—**
- ALASKA, HISTORY OF.....133-137
- Russian migrations toward the east, 133; expeditions of Behring and Chirikof, 133; growth of the fur trade, 134; rival enterprises, 134; missionary zeal, 135; Russian-American company, 135; systematic explorations, 136; annexation to the United States, 136; monopoly of Alaska Commercial Company, 136.
- HISTORY, M. TAINE AND THE SCIENCE OF.....410-411
- NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, 145-163, 289-305
- Family and race inheritance, 145; mother's character, 146; youthful hostility to France, 147; early writings, 147; independent attitude during the revolution, 148; natural and unscrupulous leadership, 149; Madame De Staël's characterization, 150; Guéria's portrait, 150; ascendancy over men, 151; historic evolution, 152; quality of mind, 152; concentration of powers, 153; capacity for work, 153; exactness of comprehension, 154; use of books, 155; versatility and thoroughness, 155; military foresight, 156; calculation of moral forces, 156; understanding of men, 157; force and vividness of utterances, 157; illustrated by extracts concerning divorce, 157; rights of children and adoption, 158; flashing words, 158; adaptation of style, 159; grasp of intellect, 159; systematic and exhaustive equipment, 159; constructive imagination, 161; visionary projects, 162; place in history, 163; violence of passions, 289;
- History—Cont.**
- irritability made to subserve his ends, 290; nervous sensibilities, 290; intolerant egoism, 291; Corsican morals, 292; early influences, 292; lessons from the French revolution, 293; estimate of men's motives, 294; self-interest supreme, 295; dominant ambition, 296; subserviency required of followers, 296; control of men through their vices, 297; people mere instruments for his purposes, 297; despotism, 298; social relations, 299; exacting discipline, 299; manner toward women, 300; contempt for conventional etiquette, 301; attitude toward European powers, 301; peace impossible, 302; public good an excuse for violent measures, 303; but the state sacrificed to his present ambitions, 303; results of egoism served by genius, 304.
- MCCLELLAN, GENERAL.....73-86
- Respect for enemies, 73; relations of the North and South, 73; McClellan's ability as an organizer, 74; bearing and characteristic traits, 74; promotion premature, 75; foresight and attention to details, 75; relations with public men, 76; the battle of Ball's Bluff, 76; Scott's resignation and McClellan's appointment, 77; disadvantages under which he worked, 78; foreign complications: the Trent affair, 79; Seward's diplomacy, 80; preparations for maritime war, 80; winters of 1861-62, 81; illness of McClellan, 82; Stanton's influence, 82; intervention of the President, 82; Confederate evacuation of Manassas, 83; Lincoln's assumption of chief control of army, 84; McClellan's visit to France, 85; forbearance and patriotism, 86.
- VICTORIA'S REIGN, HALF CENTURY OF.....271-277
- Changes of administration, 271; corn law legislation (1839-1846), 271; chartist agitation (1839-1848), 272; Queen's marriage, 272; troubles in Ireland, 272; relations with foreign powers, 272; gold discovered in Australia (1851), 273; attitude toward United States in civil war, 273; introduction of telegraph, 273; first Atlantic cable (1867), 273; educational and civil service legislation, 273; sanitary reforms, 273; British conquests in India, 274; the Sepoy rebellion (1857), 274; opium war (1840), 274; wars in Asia and Africa, 274; Crimean war (1853-55), 275; Polar

- |   | PAGE |  | PAGE |
|---|------|--|------|
| <b>History—Cont.</b>  |      | <b>Literature and Language—Cont.</b>   |      |
| expeditions, 275; explorations in Africa, 275; scientific progress, 275; railway traffic, 276; social reforms, 276; development of art, 276; literary celebrities, 276; church history, 277.  |      | translations, 437; biography, history, travel, etc., 437.  |      |
| Home Rule in Ireland.....48-72, 421   |      | ELOQUENCE, ESSENTIALS OF...177-187   |      |
| Hugo, Victor.....1-16, 212-219  |      | Eloquence defined and analyzed, 177; matter, manner, and spirit, 177; last most important, 178; advantages of training, 178; it should begin early, 179; and must be thorough, 180; self-consciousness ruinous, 180; spirit of eloquence undefinable, 181; a gift, 181; illustrations, 182; a good character necessary to the highest eloquence, 183; a worthy cause requisite, 184; the speaker must be in earnest, 185; the right occasion, 185; the audience, 186; stimulus of antagonism, 186; summing up, 187.  |      |
| Hungary ..... 429   |      | HISTORY, M. TAINE AND THE SCIENCE OF.....410-411   |      |
| Indian affairs..... 420   |      | HUGO, VICTOR.....1-16, 212-219   |      |
| India's relations to England..... 274   |      | Résumé of career, I. I. Lyric Poetry: rise of the Romantic School in France, 2; Victor Hugo's early poems, 2; battle over preface to <i>Cromwell</i> , 3; peculiarities introduced in the <i>Orientales</i> , 3; technical perfection, 4; bombastic style, 4; period of best achievement, 4; want of tact and grace, 5; redundancy of style, 5; illustrative extracts from <i>Eviradnus</i> , 5; qualities in common with Gustave Doré, 6; <i>Légende des Siècles</i> , 7; fantastic portraiture, 7; superfluous rhetoric, 8; inability to enter into a great passion, 8; lapses from taste, 9; special vocabulary, 9; lack of human sympathy, 10; imagination his greatest power, 11. |      |
| Industrial production.....336, 339  |      | II. Dramas: reception of his plays, 11; first production of <i>Hernani</i> , 11; dramas not suited to the age, 12; Hugo's pretensions, 12; preparing the way for the modern drama, 13; inconsistency, 13; use of antithesis, 13; grotesque results, 14; distortion of history, 14; fine poetry but empty and unnatural characterization, 15; banishment from stage. III. Prose works: <i>Le dernier Jour d'un Condamné</i> , 212; extravagances of other romances, 213; <i>Notre Dame de Paris</i> , 213; <i>Les Misérables</i> , 213; political writings, 214; deceptions in interests of vanity, 214.  |      |
| Industries forced..... 175  |      | IV. Hugo's character: self-conceit, 215; shallowness of feeling, 215; untrustworthiness of biographies, 216; snobbishness, 217; false representations, 217; effect of egotism on his rank as poet, 218; superficial knowledge, 218; inac-  |      |
| Interviewing, Ethics of.....128-131   |      |  |      |
| Interview, the.....127-128  |      |  |      |
| Irish question.....272, 421-425   |      |  |      |
| Irish question, past and future of the..48-72   |      |  |      |
| Italian character..... 146  |      |  |      |
| Italy.....430-431   |      |  |      |
| Labor and land party.....259-265  |      |  |      |
| Labor and the tariff..... 172   |      |  |      |
| Labor problem..... 173  |      |  |      |
| Labor troubles.....419-420  |      |  |      |
| Legislative corruption..... 168   |      |  |      |
| Lenses, telescopic..... 359   |      |  |      |
| <b>Literature and Language—</b>   |      |  |      |
| BOOK REVIEWS, 133-144, 259-271, 277-288, 306-328, 412-413, 437, 438   |      |  |      |
| "History of Alaska" and "History of California," by George Bancroft, 133; French philosophical writings, 137; "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, 259; "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," by Tennyson, 265; "Zur Reform des akademischen Lebens," 277; "Democracy and other Addresses," by James Russell, 279; "Problems of Philosophy," by Archibald Alexander, 281; "The Development of American Thought," by Charles F. Richardson, 283; "The Standard Oratorios," by George P. Upton, 286; "California," by Joseph Royce, 286; "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," by Charles Burr Todd, 286; "Talks with Socrates about Life," 286; "The Morals of Christ," by Austin Bierbower, 287; "King Edward the Sixth," by Frederick George Lee, 287; "Some Personal Reminiscences of Carlyle," by Andrew James Symington, 288; "Science of Ethics," by Leslie Stephen, 306; "Representative English Prose and Prose Writers," by Theodore W. Hunt, 412; "Meditations of a Parish Priest, Thoughts," by Joseph Roux, 412; "The Transfiguration of Christ," by F. W. Gunsaulus, 412; recent poetry, 437; |      |  |      |



**Literature and Language—Cont.**

curate statements, 219; decay of romanticism, 219.

## FICTION.

"Vita Strainge," 106-126; "Don Finimondone. A Calabrian Sketch," 230-240; "A Touch of Sublimity," 386-409.

MEREDITH, GEORGE.....220-229

His home, 220; personal appearance, 220; a talk, 220; preëminence of the intellect, 220; virtuous habit, 221; vigor and vivacity of his conversation, 221; list of works, 222; prevailing purpose, 223; war against sentimentalism, 223; his heroes, 224; charge of cynicism, 225; attitude toward women, 227; obscurity and want of adaptation, 228; love of nature, 229.

INTERVIEW, THE.....127-128

INTERVIEWING, ETHICS OF....128-131

NORWAY AND DENMARK, NEW

LITERATURE OF.....370-385

Difficulty of translating imaginative works, 370; geographical disadvantages and intellectual isolation of Scandinavian countries, 371; new impulse given by Björnson's genius, 372; style essentially national, 372; difficulty of reanimating a by-gone age, 372; Björnson's adaptation to the work, 373; characteristics of his stories, 373; later novels, 374; Henrik Ibsen, 375; contrast to Björnson, 375; salary from the State, 376; *Brand*, 376; Ibsen's severe morality, 376; value of his work, 377; Jonas Lie, 377; Alexander Kielland, 378; lesser writers, 379; influence of political relations on literature of Norway and Denmark, 379; Danish writers, 380; Sophus Schandorph, 381; a glance at his works, 381; Danish character, 381; Schandorph's naturalism, 382; J. P. Jacobsen, 382; studious avoidance of the commonplace, 383; *Niel's Lyhne*, 383; Holger Drachmann, poet and prose writer, 384.

RECORD.....437-438

WHIPPLE, EDWIN P., as critic,

98-105

Early life and education, 98; critical writings compared with those of Emerson, 98; field of early work, 99; essay on Macaulay, 99; work in *North American Review*, 99; contemporary critics, 100; remarkable precocity, 100; lack of standards of criticism, 101; lectures, 102; best work, 102; Emerson and Carlyle as critics, 103; lack of originality and moral pur-

**Literature and Language—Cont.**

pose in Whipple, 104; deficiency in sense of relations, 105; work not lasting, 105.

Literature, American.....283-285

Literature of politics.....197

Literature under Queen Victoria.....276

Literary celebrities, English.....276

Madagascar.....430

Manassas, evacuation of.....83

Mathematics.....433

McClellan, General.....73-86

Meredith, George.....220-229

Monopolies, control of.....350

Monopoly.....335

Moral aspects of the tariff.....329-342

Morals, newspaper.....127-131

Morals of Christ.....287

Music, sacred.....286

Napoleon Bonaparte.....145-163, 289-305

Nationalists, Irish.....52, 62, 65

National morality.....329

Natural sciences.....434-435

Necrology—

Art.....436

Public life.....421

Negroes, nomination to office.....414

Newspaper morals.....127-131

Newspapers, political, influence of....344

Nihilist conspiracy in Russia.....430

Norway, literature of.....370-380

Opium war.....274

Oratorio, the.....286

Oratory.....177-187

Ownership of land.....259

Parties, political, uses of.....343-353

Party leaders, influence in England....51

Pauperism in England.....276

Pension bill, dependent.....417

**Philosophy—**

ETHICS, PHYSIOLOGICAL.....306-328

(A review of Leslie Stephen's *Science of Ethics*.) Characteristics of Mr. Stephen's style, 306; attempt to develop ethical system from theory of evolution, 306; contrasted methods of Mr. Stephen and Mr. Spencer, 307; conceptions of right and wrong, 307; distinction between metaphysical and scientific methods, 308; freedom of the will as affecting scientific treatment of moral questions, 308; exactness impossible in ethical science, 309; but theory of evolution gives sufficient accuracy for scientific generalizations, 309; study of organic society apart from individuals, 310; does this justify discrimination of methods? 310; in Mr. Stephen's philosophy, moral organism of society social in its origin and functions,

PAGE

**Philosophy—Cont.**

310; feelings the motive power, 311; conduct determined by the "pleasanteſt judgment," 312; feeling and reason dependent faculties, 312; instinctive action, 312; tendencies of character, 313; no allowance made for the will, 314; ſocial forces ſhaped by the conception of typical man, 314; organic relations between man and ſociety, 315; transmission of attainments, 315; individual activity conditioned by ſocial ſurroundings, 316; "ſocial tissue," 316; difficulty of applying analogies of evolution and organic function to a conſcious perſon, 316; change in philoſophical conception of organiſm, 317; Biſhop Butler on organiſm of ſpiritual agencies, 318; previous ſociological theories of morals, 319; evolution and province of moral law, 320; force and obligation, 320; man's altruistic conſtitution, 321; moral qualities of altruism from Mr. Stephen's ſtandpoint, 322; phyſiological terminology found inadequate, 322; moral obligation, 322; ſtandard of merit, 323; queſtion of motives, 323; virtue the product of ſocial diſcipline, 324; freedom of the will, 324; ſenſe of duty, 325; family diſcipline, 326; evolutioniſm conſtrasted with utiliſtarianiſm, 327; Mr. Stephen's conſcluſions uncertain and unſatisfactory, 327.

PHILOSOPHY, CONTEMPORARY, IN FRANCE.  
A glance at French ſpiritualiſm, with notice of recent philoſophical works..... 137-144

PHILOSOPHY IN BRITAIN, PRESENT POSITION OF.....17-27

Law of philoſophical progress, 17; influence of individual thinkers, 17; things to be conſidered, 18; problem preſented by Hume, 18; influence of ſcientific reſearch, 19; ſcience and philoſophy inſeparable, 19; ſteps by which ſcience has become metaphyſical, 20; philoſophic tendency of theory of evolution, 20; popularity of experimental philoſophy in connection with this theory, 21; loſs of ground through conviction of inſufficiency, 22; diſtinctive doctrine of tranſcendental philoſophy, 23; weakneſs on the ſide of the ſenſory, 23; dependence of Engliſh rationaliſts on German thinkers, 24; the work of expoſition and criticiſm indicates a tranſition period,

PAGE

**Philosophy—Cont.**

25; return upon Kant, 25; ultimate rejection of Kantean and Hegelean ſystems, while accepting much from both, 26.

Photography, aſtronomical..... 354-369

Physics..... 432-433

Phyſiological ethics..... 306-328

Planetary photography..... 363

Polar expeditions..... 275

Political and ſocial aſpects of the tariff..... 164-176

Political parties, uſes of..... 343-353

Politics, domeſtic..... 414-421

Foreign..... 421-431

Politics, ſtudy of..... 188-199

Portugal..... 431

Postal ſervice..... 414

Premiers under Victoria..... 271

President's meſſage..... 415

Preſs, influence of political..... 344

Prison reform..... 87-97

Problems of philoſophy..... 281-282

Production, induſtrial..... 336, 339

Protective tariff.....164, 176, 329-342

Protoplasm, activities of..... 434

**Public Questions, American—**

ADMINISTRATION, THE..... 414-415

President's attitude toward the South, 414; duties on Spaniſh imports, 414; national banks muſt depoſit intereſt-bearing bonds, 414; extradition treaty with Japan (Dec. 2, 1886), 414; treaty with Hawaii (Jan. 20, 1887), 414; attitude toward the negro, 414; reſignation of Secretary Manning, 414; appointment of Charles S. Fairchild as Secretary of the Treasury, 414; condition of the poſtal ſervice (54,157 offices, October, 1886), 414; report of Secretary of War, 414; recommendations of Secretary of the Treasury, 414; changes in the navy adminiſtration, 415.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM..... 415

Suſpension of public officers, 415; examination of applicants, 415; promotions in the New York cuſtom- houſe, 415; civil-ſervice adminiſtration in Maryland, 415.

CONGRESS, WORK OF.....415-419

President's meſſage, 415; reducing the ſurplus revenue, 415; allotment of lands to Indians, 416; President's commendation of Civil-Service Law, 416; Canadian fisheries diſpute, 416; bill to extend free poſtal delivery ſyſtem, 416; Electoral Count Bill, 416; provisions of Inter-State Commerce Bill, 416; railroad commiſſioners appointed, 417; Trade Dollar Bill, 417; Anti-Polygamy Bill, ſtatus of polygamy made criminal, 417; Utah Commiſſion, 417; Tenure of Office Act repealed, 417;

- Public Questions, Amer.—Cont.** PAGE
- miscellaneous bills, 417; Dependent Pension Bill, 417; provisions, 418; newspaper attack, 418; ground of President's veto, 418; veto sustained by the House, 418; other bills vetoed, 418; tariff reform, 418.
- CRIMINALS, EXTIRPATION OF.** . . . 87-97
- Objects of prison reform movement, 87; improvement in construction and management of prisons, 87; influence on prisoners, 87; growth of crime, 88; end of philanthropy not attained, 88; elimination of criminals, 89; historical testimony, 89; how shall it be done, 90; classification of criminals, 90; heredity not sufficient basis for legislation, 91; criminals must be dealt with as individuals, 91; rescue of children, 92; more radical measures needed, 92; State support of criminals, 93; indeterminate sentence first step in elimination, 94; treatment of prisoners, 94; kind of labor, 94; convict lease system in the South, 94; demoralizing influence of public punishment, 94; possibility of reforming criminals, 95; reformatory discipline, 96; qualifications of keepers, 96; indeterminate sentence necessary for the proposed experiment, 97; economy of the plan, 97.
- COURT DECISIONS, IMPORTANT.** . . . 420
- On Inter-State commerce, 420; in case of Bell Telephone Company, 420; for the Choctaw nation, 420; concerning proceedings under an extradition treaty, 420; Broadway repeal legislation, 420; oleomargarine, 420; responsibility of sleeping-car companies, 420; woman suffrage in Wyoming Territory, 420; license tax on travelling salesmen, 420.
- ELECTION RESULTS** . . . . . 419
- Statistics of returns for House of Representatives, Senate, and State offices, 419; contest for mayor of New York City, 419.
- INDIANS, THE.** . . . . . 420
- Conference at Lake Mohonk, 420; application of Civil-Service rules to Indians, 420; progress in civilization, 420.
- INTERVIEW, THE.** . . . . . 127-128
- INTERVIEWING, ETHICS OF.** . . . 128-131
- LABOR TROUBLES.** . . . . . 419-420
- Diminution in number of strikes, 419; strike of Chicago pork packers, 419; strike of freight handlers in New York City, 419; the boycott declared illegal, 419; losses through Southwestern Railroad strike, 1886 (\$4,200,000), 420.
- Public Questions, Amer.—Cont.** PAGE
- LAND AND LABOR PARTY.** . . . 259-265
- Moral issues involved, 259; logical results of Henry George's theories, 259; extracts showing his position, 260; fallacies of premises and inferences, 261; private ownership of land justified by man's constitution, 262; sanctioned by divine law, 262; under the same safeguards as other property, 263; equally consistent with Christian neighborhood, 263; Christian ideal of wealth not communistic, 264; cure of social evils must be moral and Christian, 264; duties of Christian citizens, 265.
- PARTIES, USES OF POLITICAL.** . 343-353
- Magnitude and diffusion of power, 343; organization and drill, 343; influence of the political press, 344; growth of parties, 345; survival of better elements, 345; the ancestral spirit, 346; parties the result of national institutions, 346; party antagonism a safeguard to government, 346; influence of an opposition party out of power, 347; educating forces of parties, 348; assimilation of heterogeneous peoples, 348; party spirit, 349; control of illiterate voters, 349; parties a protection against combination of moneyed interests, 350; prevention of sectional quarrels and centralization of power, 351; religious toleration, 351; benefit of division of churches through political parties, 352; moral issues, 353.
- POLITICS, OF THE STUDY OF.** . 188-199
- A new school in politics, 188; task before it, 188; the theoretical *vs.* the practical, 188; politics not an abstract science, 189; superficial methods of study, 189; student of politics must be a man of the world, 190; practical politicians as teachers, 191; sympathetic understanding necessary to just expression, 192; use of books, 193; Carlyle's insight, 193; political truths from inference, 194; organic nature of political society, 195; study of personal influence, 195; incidental helps, 196; travel and observation, 196; literary methods, 197; the ideal writer, 198; possibilities of political literature, 199.
- POLITICS, DOMESTIC.** . . . . . 414-421
- FOREIGN.** . . . . . 421-431
- TARIFF, MORAL ASPECTS OF THE,** . . . . . 329-342
- National obligations, 329; revenue a condition, 329; question of methods, 329; moral personality of a



- |  | PAGE    |  | PAGE     |
|--|---------|--|----------|
| <b>Public Questions, Amer.—Cont.</b>   |         | <b>Public Questions, For.—Cont.</b>  |          |
| nation, 330; the ideal State, 330; government interference with citizens, 331; claims of the free-trade party, 331; aims of protective tariff, 332; duty of national development, 332; gratifying results of the protective tariff, 333; effect on individuals, 334; charge of favoritism, 334; not responsible for monopolies, 335; field of employment widened, 335; increased production, 336; social considerations, 337; wages of workmen, 337; how affected by tariff, 338; social policy, 339; cost of protection, 339; industrial development a guarantee of national security, 341; tariff rates, 342.  |         | BURMAH.....  | 426      |
| TARIFF REFORM.....   | 418-419 | British occupation.....  | 426      |
| TARIFF, SOME POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE.....  | 164-176 | CANADA.....  | 425, 426 |
| Purpose of protective tariff, 164; manner of levying tax, 164; amount of national outlay, 164; a source of controversy, 165; corrupting influence of such a fund, 165; alternative of a Congressional appropriation, 165; distribution of protection, 166; irresponsibility of American financial system, 167; method of procedure, 167; tampering with bills, 167; relations of legislators to their constituents, 168; venality of legislators, 169; difficulty of subjecting wealth to law under democratic government, 169; remedy lies in removing temptation, 170; dependence of capitalists on Congress, 170; influence of free-traders, 171; tariff for revenue only, 171; the labor problem, 172; "tariff issue" in elections, 174; peculiar American conditions, 174; forced industries, 175; if there had been no tariff, 175; remedies for existing evils. |         | Election returns, 426; the fisheries dispute, 426.   |          |
| TEMPERANCE QUESTION.....   | 420-421 | EGYPT.....   | 426      |
| Anti-saloon Republicans, 420; important legal decision, 420; constitutionality of Dow liquor tax law, 421; veto of high-license law for New York and Brooklyn, 421.  |         | Reduction of the standing army, 426; blockade of the Soudan raised, 426.   |          |
| <b>Public Questions, Foreign.</b>  |         | EUROPE, THE PEACE OF.....  | 426, 427 |
| AFGHANISTAN.....   | 431     | Bulgarian question, 426; elections, 426; Russian interference, 426; meeting of the Sobranye, 426; election of Prince Waldemar of Denmark to the throne, 426; the honor declined, 426; Austria's interests in Bulgaria, 426; attitude of the British Government, 427; withdrawal of Russian consuls, 427; rumors of war between Germany and France, 427; revolts against the Bulgarian regency, 427; insurrection at Silistria, 427; war preparations, 427. |          |
| Revolution of the Ghilzai tribe, 431; rumored attack in Russia, 431.   |         | FRANCE.....  | 429, 430 |
| AFRICA.....  | 431     | Assembling of the Chambers (Oct. 14, 1886), 429; bill to reorganize the navy, 429; peace policy, 429; foreign budget, 429; Tonking credits, 429; fall of the Freycinet ministry, 429; abolition of sub-prefects, 429; new Cabinet, 429; policy of M. Goblet, 429; armament of France, 429; income tax, 430; war rumors, 430; census for 1886 (population, 38,218,000), 430.  |          |
| Stanley's expedition, 431.   |         | GERMANY.....   | 427-429  |
| AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.....   | 429     | Opening of the Reichstag (Nov. 25, 1886), 427; Septennate Army Bill, 427; speeches in its favor by Von Moltke, 427; and Bismarck, 427; bill adopted in amended form, 428; the Reichstag dissolved, 428; fear of war, 428; manifesto of the Pope, 428; complete election returns, 428; final provisions of the bill, 428; Army Budget Bill, 428; anniversary of Emperor William's 40th birthday, 428; alliance with Austria and Italy.....                  | 428      |
| Deficit in Austrian budget (17,000,000 florins), 429; in Hungarian budget (22,000,000 florins), 429; Austria's attitude in Bulgarian dispute, 429.   |         | GREAT BRITAIN.....   | 421-426  |
| BULGARIA. <i>See</i> Europe,   |         | National League "Plan of Campaign," 421; Tory conference (Oct. 26, 1886), 421; eastern policy, 421; coercion re-established in Ireland, 421; charges against Mr. John Dillon, 421; National demonstration in County Galway, 22; Plan of campaign not approved by Mr. Parnell, 422; removal of Sir Robert Hamilton, 422; meeting of National Liberal Federation at Leeds, 422; demand for an Irish legislative body, 422;                                   |          |



- Public Questions, For.—Cont.** PAGE  
 resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, 422; succeeded by Mr. Goschen, 423; other cabinet changes, 423; death of Lord Iddesleigh, 423; chances of Liberal reunion, 423; Queen's speech on reassembling of Parliament, 423; rules of Parliamentary procedure, 423; Lord Churchill's resignation, 424; Parliamentary discussion of the Irish question, 424; Mr. Balfour appointed Secretary for Ireland, 425; Irish Crimes Bill, 425; report of the Royal Commission on the Irish land question, 425; Canada, 425.
- IRELAND.** *See* Great Britain.
- IRISH QUESTION, PAST AND FUTURE OF THE.** 48-72  
 Interest of Americans in the Irish question, 48; value of their opinions, 48; history of party movements since 1800, 49; growth of Home Rule party (formed 1872), 49; influence of party leaders in England, 51; defections from the Liberal party, 52; feeling against Irish Nationalist members, 52; reasons for dislike, 53; internal condition of Ireland, 53; factional strife, 54; religious differences, 55; troubles in Ulster, 55; fear of Irish independence, 55; England's advantages, 56; separation not desired by Ireland, 56; English ignorance of Ireland's condition, 57; constitutional hesitancy to accept a new measure, 58; opposition to its principles, 59; not properly a party issue between Tories and Liberals, 59; opposition tactics, 59; cohesiveness of the Tory party, 60; problem not finally solved, 60; divisions in the Liberal party, 61; difficulties of maintaining alliance between Tories and anti-Home-Rule Liberal party, 61; it must expect fate of third parties, 62; alliance of Parnellites and Liberals, 62; distinction between men and measures, 63; overruling revolutionary measures for the public good, 64; Tory responsibility, 64; aspects of the Irish question which force attention, 65; Nationalists in Parliament, 65; difficulty of maintaining social order in Ireland, 66; policy of coercive legislation, 66; plan of buying out the landlords, 67; question of local government for England and Ireland, 67; obligations of Tory leaders, 68; English sympathy with Protestant minority, 68; self-government as a
- Public Questions, For.—Cont.** PAGE  
 solution of the Parliamentary difficulty, 69; social order under Irish authority, 69; local reform must lead to Home Rule, 70; what may be expected from thoughtful consideration, 71; principles which underlie the policy of conciliation, 71.
- ITALY** ..... 430-431  
 Death of Signor Marco Minghetti, 430; war excitement, 431; deficiency shown in budget (\$5,000,000), 431; destruction of Italian troops in Africa, 431; cabinet changes, 431; capital and labor question, 431; four Cardinals appointed, 431; death of Cardinal Jacobini, 431.
- MADAGASCAR** ..... 430  
 War indemnity paid to France (400,000f.), 430.
- PORTUGAL** ..... 431  
 Result of elections, 431.
- RUSSIA** ..... 430  
 Tobacco monopoly, 430; diplomatic relations with France, 430; financial condition (national debt, 5,600,000,000 roubles), 430; boundary of Afghanistan, 430; deficit in treasury, 1886 (\$26,000,000), 430; Nihilist conspiracy, 430; Polish uprising, 430; import duties, 430; experiments with new explosive, 430; attempt on Czar's life, 430; war talk, 430.
- SPAIN** ..... 431  
 Army reform, 431; improvement of the navy, 431; naval station at Caroline Islands abandoned, 431; negotiations with the United States, 431; reduction in Cuban export duties, 431; dynastic conspiracy, 431.
- Rationalistic philosophy ..... 23  
 Reflecting telescopes ..... 357  
 Reform, prison ..... 87-97  
 Refracting telescopes ..... 358
- Religion and Morality—**  
**CRIMINALS, EXTIRPATION OF** ... 87-97  
*See* Public Questions.  
**TARIFF, MORAL ASPECTS OF** .. 329-342  
*See* Public Questions.  
**RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS,**  
28-47  
*See* Education.
- Religious toleration secured through political parties ..... 351  
 Revenue tariff ..... 171  
 Roman Catholic school books ..... 32  
 Romanticism in France ..... 2, 219  
 Russia ..... 430
- Sacred music ..... 286  
 Sanitary reform in Great Britain ..... 434

	PAGE		PAGE
Scandinavian literature.....	370-385	<b>Science—Cont.</b>	
Scarlet fever.....	435	MATHEMATICS.....	433
Schools, religion in the public.....	28-47	NATURAL SCIENCES.....	434, 435
<b>Science—</b>		Cambrian fauna of North America, 434; formation of Florida, 434; anatomy of the nettle, 434; activities of protoplasm, 434; causes of scarlet fever, 435.	
ASTRONOMICAL PHOTOGRAPHY. 354-369		RECORD.....	432-435
Revolution in astronomical science, 354; study of physical phenomena of heavenly bodies, 354; first application of photography to astronomical study, 355; advantages of photographic over ocular observation, 356; cumulative effect of exposure of plate, 356; disadvantages, 357; determination of relative positions of stars, 357; photographic apparatus, 357; comparative merits of reflecting and refracting telescopes, 358; variation in focus of color rays, 359; photographic lenses, 360; sensitiveness of plates, 360; Zenger's phosphorescent plate, 360; photographs of the solar surface, 361; solar corona, 362; solar prominences, 362; the moon, 362; planetary photography, 363; pictures of comets, 364; photography of nebulae, 364; use of photography in obtaining numerical data, 365; eclipses, 365; transits of Venus, 365; star-charts, 365; stars visible in telescopes (60,000,000 or 80,000,000), 366; congress of astronomers (Paris, 1887), 366; scale of maps, 366; double-stars, groups, and stellar parallax, 366; accuracy of angular measurements, 366; meridian observations, 367; stellar photometry, 367; stellar spectra, 367; new methods, 368; future of the science, 369.			
ASTRONOMY.....	432	Science and philosophy.....	19
Physics of the sun, 432; eclipse of sun (August, 1886), 432; measurement of the constant of aberration, 432; red spot on Jupiter, 432; photographic experiments, 432; sun-spot minimum, 432; discovery of new planets and comets, 432.		Science of Ethics.....	306-328
PHYSICS.....	432-433	Science of History.....	410-411
Principle of least action, 432; wave length of light, 432; production of electricity during evaporation, 433; relations of a liquid to its vapor, 433; electrical conductivity of gases, 433; ratio between the electro-static and electro-magnetic units, 433.		Scientific progress in Great Britain....	275
CHEMISTRY.....	433, 434	Sectional interests.....	351
Isolation of fluorine, 433; precipitation of chloroform, 433; radiant matter spectroscopy, 433.		Sepoy rebellion.....	274
		Social and political aspects of the tariff, 164-176	
		Social conditions, English.....	273, 276
		Social problems.....	337
		Societies, German college.....	277-279
		Society, organization of.....	310
		Southern feeling.....	73
		Spain.....	431
		Spectroscopy.....	433
		Spiritualism, French philosophical. 137-144	
		Stars. <i>See</i> Astronomical Photography.	
		State and Church.....	35
		Stellar photography.....	354-369
		Study of architecture.....	204
		Study of politics.....	188-199
		Suffrage, assimilating and educating influence.....	348
		Tariff, moral aspects of.....	329-342
		Tariff, political and social aspects of, 164-176	
		Tariff reform.....	418-419
		Telegraph communication.....	273
		Telescopes, reflecting and refracting..	358
		Temperance question.....	420
		Travel: Idle Notes of an Uneventful Voyage.....	241-258
		Treaties, England's, with foreign powers.....	272
		<i>Trent</i> affair".....	79
		Universities, German.....	277-279
		University education.....	131
		Victoria's reign, the half-century of, 271-277	
		"Vita Strainge," a story.....	106-126
		Voters, illiterate.....	349
		Voyage, Idle Notes of an Uneventful, 241-258	
		Wages of workmen.....	337
		Workingmen and the State.....	172
		Workingmen's wages . . . . .	337
		Will, freedom of.....	308
		Women in fiction.....	227













